



GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

MARITIME ACTIVITIES AND TRADE IN ORISSA

ORISSA STATE ARCHIVES, BHUBANESWAR

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AND
TRADE IN ORISSA**

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FOREWORD

ORISSA has a glorious past not only based on its rich cultural traits but also the achievements in ancient maritime trading activities which progressed through the medieval period and surfaced in the shape of multifarious trading activities, in the modern period of Indian History. Through all these phases, it were the coastal ports of Orissa alongwith the rivers that played a vital role in the currents of fluctuating trade.

How vividly do the ancient literary texts depict the picture of maritime Orissa ? To what extent river navigation in the nineteenth century, Orissa was linked with sea-borne trade ? How prominent, in terms of maritime trade, were the ports of Gopalpur and Balasore ? Was shipbuilding a highly technical job needing greater skill, care and calibre ? How far communication and trade combined to effect the overall economic activities of Orissa during the nineteenth and first half of twentieth century ? What was the nature, volume, dimension and implication of trade and commerce in Orissa and particularly in the coastal belt during the British period ? To find answers to these and many related questions prominent historians and scholars have made painstaking efforts by contributing articles that form the present book titled "Maritime Activities and Trade in Orissa".

To bring out a book on one particular topic written by one author is relatively an easy affair. But to put together many articles contributed by many scholars on various aspects of one particular topic is undoubtedly a herculean task. This comes forth when we analyse the present book. There are various articles explaining almost everything connected with maritime trade and commerce in Orissa during the nineteenth and first half of twentieth centuries and hence arrangement of articles in a proper sequence, either thematic or chronological is a difficult task. Nevertheless, this book is one of its kind to bring before the scholarly world a complete picture of maritime trade and thus exploring yet another aspect of Orissa's rich and glorious past.

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PREFACE

In early and early mediaeval Orissa trading activities (both inland and overseas) constituted an interesting part of the economic life. Orissa's prosperity was due to maritime trade and commerce. Ancient literature furnishes an interesting account of this activity. There were different maritime zones in Orissa on the *Prachya Mahodadhi* (Eastern seas). Starting from palaura to Tamralipti, Orissan merchants continued for centuries their trading activities which also led to colonisation of the islands of South-East Asia. One of the main points of departure for ships bound for South-East Asia (which was *Apheterion* or *Samudraprastana sthana*) was located near the Chilka lake. Both inland and overseas trade had considerable progress during the early and mediaeval phase. Although in the mediaeval phase agrarian economy was given increasing focus by the political power, trading activities did not wane. In the Muslim period as well as in the British period trading activities in Orissa got a pfillip by the outsiders (the Dutch, Portuguese and the British.).

The papers presented in this volume have been divided into two parts. Part-I deals with maritime trading activities in Orissa in early mediaeval and British period. R. N. Dash, on the basis of evidences, describes the system of boat-making in ancient Orissa. Bhagaban Panda has given an account of maritime trade in Orissa on the basis of literary evidences. K. G. Dash, has given an account of the location of *Apheterion* (*Samudraprastana sthana*) on the basis of both literary and archaeological evidences. L. Das Mohapatra has presented an interesting account of elephant trade in Orissa in the 17th century. He has provided interesting details on the basis of valuable Dutch records and the Balasore factory records of the English East India Company. P. K. Mishra, on the basis of archival documents, furnishes an interesting narrative on the port of Gopalpur. B. Bhatta in his paper gives an account of riverine trade in Orissa in the 19th century. The two papers, "ports of Balasore" by G. Nayak and 'Maritime Trade in British Orissa' of J. K. Samal provide information regarding ports and trading activities in Orissa during the British period. Section II contains papers on trade and commerce in Orissa during Mughal, Maratha and British period which were read by the contributors in the Conference Hall of Orissa State Archives.

A Maritime History of Orissa is yet a desideratum. I am thankful to the learned contributors to this volume for the pain, they took to sketch an outline of their respective topics for giving an idea of Orissan maritime and Trading activities. The volume, however, is not a comprehensive one to justify the title it bears. It is only a preliminary attempt in those directions.

I hasten to confess that most of the articles were hastily collected, roughly edited and rushed through the printing machine for publication in two weeks time in order to serve the purpose of releasing it on the occasion of the celebration of Archives week in December, 1996. I crave for the indulgence of the readers for all types of omission and commission, which resulted from such decision.

I am thankful to the staff of Orissa State Archives and Eastern Zone Record Centre of National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar for helping me in editing this volume. My special thanks are due to my colleague Sri K. C. Mohapatra, Curator of Archives who helped me in bringing out the publication in time.

My greatest debt is to Shri D. N. Padhi, I. A. S., Commissioner-cum-Secretary to Government of Orissa, Department of Tourism and Culture Sri Jogendra Patra, I.A.S., Director, Culture who amidst their numerous preoccupation gave special attention to research activities of this Department and encouraged me to take up this work to help the scholars in their scholarly investigation.

My thanks are also due to the Director, Printing, Stationery and Publication, Orissa and the officers and staff of the Orissa Government Press, Cuttack for their co-operation in bringing out this publication.

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CONTENTS

	PAGES
PART I	
1. Maritime Orissa : As depicted in Ancient Literature	3
—Bhagaban Panda	
2. Apheterion of Periplous : A Study of its Location in South Orissa	6
—Kailash Chandra Dash	
3. Elephant Trade in Orissa in the Seventeenth Century	9
—Lalatendu Das Mohapatra	
4. Boat Building in Orissa	13
—Rabinarayan Dash	
5. The Port of Gopalpur during the second half of the Nineteenth Century : Maritime Activities and Sea-Customs Establishments.	22
—Prasanna Kumar Mishra	
6. Navigation in Rivers in Nineteenth Century, Orissa	29
—Rekharani Khuntia	
7. Ports of Balasore during the British Period	35
—Ganeswar Nayak	
8. Maritime Trade of British Orissa, 1866—1947	39
—J. K. Samal	
9. Traditional Navigation Techniques of North Orissa : A Study of Balasore Coast	49
—Brajabandhu Bhatta	
10. Rise and Fall of the Ports of Balasore District	53
—Bansidhar Bhol	
11. Fish Trade in Puri Coast in early Twentieth Century	56
—Rajib Lochan Sahoo	
PART II	
12. Credit and Banking System in Orissa, 1600—1800	61
—Lalatendu Das Mohapatra	
13. Cotton Trade in Orissa during the first half of the Nineteenth Century : A Random Study.	68
—Prasanna Kumar Mishra	
14. Salt Trade of Orissa Under British Rule, 1804—1900	73
—Sadananda Choudhury	
15. Trade and Commerce in South Orissa during British Period	77
—Dandapani Behera	
16. Revisiting the Nineteenth Century, Economy of Orissa : Some Socio-Political Considerations.	83
—Subhakanta Behera	
17. Communication and Trade in British Orissa, 1900—1947	90
—J. K. Samal	
18. Pandit Gopabandhu Das and the British Policy of Trade and Commerce in Orissa	100
—Rabi Narayan Dash	
19. The Muse of the Sudarshana Chakra in Orissa	109
—Subhash Chandra Mishra	
List of Contributors	123

PART I

MARITIME ORISSA : AS DEPICTED IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

— Bhagaban Panda

ORISSA, famous as Kalinga, in ancient times, has a long maritime history and tradition which had developed owing to its close association with the sea, stretching to a length of more than 500 kilometres on its Eastern front beginning from the River Ganga in the North to Godavari in the South. The glorious tradition is intimately linked with some of its religious practices and festivals. Although Orissa lost its maritime trade activities during the British period, the Oriyas today remember their ancient tradition by observing "Boita Vandana Utsav" as a National Festival which reminds the glorious past. It unfolds a brilliant chapter of Orissan history. This festival is being celebrated throughout Orissa with great pomp and devotion in the early hours of the full moon day of the month of Kartika.

The maritime activities of the people of ancient Orissa (Kalinga) starting from the ports at Kalingapattanam, Palur, Chitrotpala, Dhamra, Tamralipta down to far off Eastern lands of Simhala, Java, Sumatra, Vali, Borneo, Shyam, Indochina, Brahmadesh (Burma) for trade and colonisation, are vividly described by the eminent scholars like R. C. Mazumdar, R. D. Banerjee and Radha Kumuda Mukherjee in their books. ♡

The story of the pilgrimage of Dantakumar and Hemamala from Dantapur in Kalinga to island of Simhala, the description of the sea-voyages from the ports of Tamralipta and Chelitala to Simhala, China and other places as given by the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang in 645 A. D. and ceremonial taking off the original manuscript of "Ganda Vyuha" by the celebrated Buddhist scholar Prajñā from the King of Udra to the Chinese Emperor on a sea-voyage in 794 A. D. bear ample testimony to the maritime activities of the people of Kalinga in the days of yore.

These historic facts are further corroborated with the numerous stone carvings, depicting shipping activities seen today in the facades of Konarka, Bhubaneswar and Jagannath temples and literary evidences in this country. The traces of Kalinga architecture in the monuments of Far-East add to our ancient heritage.

The Buddhist literature Seuki, Jatakas, Dathadhatuvamsa and Lalitavistara record the existence of a number of ports in ancient Orissa. Ptolemy has also given a very interesting description of Orissan ports. "Arthashastra" of Kautilya renders a very bright description of shipping activities and its administrative lookout in the department of Trade and Commerce during his time. He had mentioned that the voyage in the high sea should take place from Asadha (June) to Kartika (October). Gunadhyā's "Baddakaha", Somadeva's "Kathasarit Sagara" and Acharya Dandi's "Dasakumara Charita" also record the ancient sea-voyages from the port of Tamralipta. The other works namely, Vrhasamhita of Barahamihira "Yukti Kalpataru" edited by I. C. Shastri, "Tilakamanjari" of Dhanapala, "Kalasvarupakulaka" of Jinadatta Suri, Acarangasutra, Part II, Upamiti Bhavaprapancakatha, etc., deal with building of various ships and trade in high sea.

There was a time when the present Bay of Bengal was known as Kalinga Udadhi or sea of Kalinga due to predominance of the Oriya sailors and navigators over this part of the Indian Ocean as is described by late P. C. Rath in his learned paper published in the journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society (Vol. 1/4). In spite of repeated attacks of the Arabian sailors which started from the 8th Century A. D. and keen competition of the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French sailors on the high seas, the sailors of Orissa gave up sea-voyages and practically monopolised the coastal navigation till the beginning of last century. An interesting account of such navigation is found in the sea-voyage of Vidyarnava and Lilavati from Varuna Pattanam (modern Baruan in Andhra Pradesh) to Purusottama Ksetra, Puri is described in the historical Kavya Gangavansanucharita Champu written by Vasudeva Rath Somayaji in 1762 A. D.

The author describes the sea-voyage of Vidyarnava and Lilavati on a pilgrimage to Puri to witness the famous Car Festival en route the river Mahendratanya at Varuna Pattanum and Chilka lake. Vidyarnava consoles his frightened wife Lilavati bringing a reference to the bravery of the Griya sailors on sea, who in large numbers cross the high tides for trade and commerce. After spring festival of the Lord Jagannatha, Vidyarnava and Lilavati took their return journey through sea-route to Vijayanagaram via Khallikote, Vikrampur, Athagarb, Kodala, Langaleveni, Raghunath Sagara, Pittala on the bank of the river Rusikulya, Paralakhimundi, Ghodahad, etc. Vidyarnava describes Chilika lake as "A sea of thousand Boats". Another interesting account is derived from Vidyarnava's words to his wife infusing into her courage and detesting her from the fear of wild sea beings.

The copper plate grant of Maharajadhiraj Gopachandra of 5th Century A. D. contains beautiful description on sea wherein the sea has been conceived as the form of God and placed at a high venerable position.

Besides these sanskrit works, description of sea-voyage and also 'found in the works of celebrated Oriya Poets, Narasingha Sena (1530 A. D.), Dinakrushna Das (1650 A.D.), Kavi Samrat Upendrabhanja (1685 A. D.). Their works, Viz., Parimala, Prastava Sindhu, Rasa Kalolla, and Lavanyabati abound with innumerable references which are reminiscent of the maritime activities of Orissa till to the pre-British period.

The rivers of ancient Orissa namely, Rupanarayan, Kapisha, Suvarnaksha, Vaitarani, Bramhani, Mahanadi, Prachi, Rushikulya, Vansadhars and Nagavali bore the route for inland navigation between the western hilly tract and the eastern sea-shore. On their banks many towns flourished as centres of trade and commerce. Sambalpur, Sonapur, Bhudo, Kantilo and Cuttack on the bank of Mahanadi, Kakatpur on the Prachi river and Chelitalo on the Chandrabhaga in Konarka, Varakote, Bhimanagari, Jenapur and Dhamra on the Brahmani river; Anandpur and Jaipur on the bank of river Vaitarani; Jaleswar and Pipili on the bank of river Suvarnaksha and Palur on the river Rusikulya, Kalinganagar on the bank of Vansadhara are the silent witness of the glorious past.

The story of adventures on the sea as narrated in popular poem "Ta-poi" of the 18th C. A. D. is briefly narrated hereto have an idea about sea-voyage. The story runs like this—

"The Brahmin widow tried a foulplay with the innocent girl Ta-poi by instigating her to demand for a golden moon and silver basket for her plaything instead of ordinary bamboo one. The parent no doubt acceded to the request of their darling daughter Ta-poi but could not fulfil her wish due to predemise.

The brothers however took up the vow, but the real task of looking after the girl fell on their wives when they left for sea. The Brahmin widow again appears on the scene, poisons the wives of the brothers who torture Ta-poi instead of looking to her comfort. Ta-poi moved in the woods uncared for looking after the goats. Misery mounts when a goat missed in the forest. Ta-poi unable to find out the lost is severely beaten. Ta-poi prayed Mangala. The brothers on return from the trade came to know of the sad plight of their dear sister and punished their wives". Notwithstanding the genuinity of this folk story we are reminded of our sea-trade.

Kavikarna who became famous in Bengal and Orissa for his Pala poems, has given many interesting depictions of sea-voyages of Orissa in his "Abhinna Madana Pala", "Kethuria Pala" and "Sadananda Saudagara Pala". Besides these there are many folk tales still prevalent in Orissa like "Kahukamandala Chadhei", "Charimahajanapua". and many others in which we have ample references about trade and shipping.

It is a matter of great pleasure and inspiration to see the revival of maritime trade of ancient Orissa (Kalinga) after the establishment of a major port at Paradip near the mouth of the river Mahanadi in 1962 and the minor port at Gopalpur near the mouth of Rusikulya river. The glory and grandeur of

Orissa mostly depend on wealth earned from overseas trade and commerce in the past. The fate of Orissa will definitely be changed with all-round development of the Paradip port which is one of the best natural ports of India.

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APHETERION OF PERIPLUS: A STUDY OF ITS LOCATION IN SOUTH ORISSA

—Kailash Chandra Dash

I. Introduction

1.1. Apheterion (which has been stated as Samudraprastan sthana in the Buddhist text Gandavyuha) was a significant point of departure for ships bound for the different regions of South East Asia (Khryse) in the early period. Its location is an important aspect of study on the maritime activities on the eastern coast. The present paper aims to review the opinions of the learned historians on the location of this maritime centre and to indicate its exact location in the modern map. The sources for this study are mainly based on the reports of the Roman and the Greek writers and the archaeological evidences.

II. Location of apheterion according to the views of the historians

2.1. Marcianus of Heraklea (sometime between A. D. 350 and 500) referred to Apheterion as a place from which all those navigating to Khryse leave.¹ This point of departure for ships was located by Ptolemy (in his Geographike Huphege is) in Maisolia which, according to him was situated immediately below (i. e. to the south of the territory on the Gangetic gulf).² It was also located to the north of another locality of Maisolia called Koddoura (which has been identified with the modern Guduru near Masulipatnam).³ S. Levi located Apheterion near Chicacole which is immediately to the south of Palaura where the vessels to Khryse ceased to follow the littoral and entered the High Seas.⁴ H. B. Sarkar on the basis of Ptolemy's views stated that at Palaura the Gangetic gulf begins. The Passage across it to Sada in a direct line from West to East is 1,300 stadia. The distance is thus about 130 miles (according to Sarkar's calculation). He located Sada near Palaura.⁵ At present Palaura is located at the Southern tip of the Chika lake, a few miles to the north of the town of Ganjam. Hence according to Sarkar, Apheterion is to be located a little to the South of Palaura. The learned historian further accepted Chhatrapur (now in Ganjam district) as the point of departure for ships bound for Khryse. He identified this Apheterion with Chelitalo-Ching of Hiuen Tsang (the Chinese pilgrim who visited Orissa in the middle of 7th century A. D.)⁶

III. Apheterion is neither Chelitalo-Ching nor Chhatrapur

3.1. We have reasons to differ with the learned historian on the identification of Apheterion with Chelitalo-Ching and Chhatrapur.

(i) At present Chhatrapur has no such very remarkable archaeological evidence for its connection with the point of departure for ships as stated by Ptolemy and Marcianus. A small port named Ganja exists near Chhatrapur which is not sufficient for its identification with Apheterion.

(ii) The identification of Apheterion with Chelitalo-Ching has also contrary arguments. Chelitalo-Ching of Hiuen-Tsang was no doubt a thoroughfare and resting place for sea-going traders and the strangers from distant lands. In a note to the text of Hiuen Tsang by Fahsing the term has been translated by a phrase which may signify Setting out exactly bearing the same meaning as that attached to the Greek term Apheterion.⁷ The geographical description on Chelitalo-Ching has been included in the section of Odradesa in the account of Hiuen Tsang. According to the Chinese pilgrim in the south-east of the Odra country was the city Chelitalo about twenty li in circuit.⁸ After the description of Odradesa the Chinese pilgrim stated about Kangoda. Kongoda-mandala during the time of Hiuen-Tsang could cover the Banpur zone (the Chilika lake area) and a part of the Ganjam district.⁹ The inscriptional references of the period of the Sailodbhava kings from about 7th century A. D. confirm this territorial extent of Kongoda-mandala.¹⁰ The area of Chhatrapur (which has been accepted by H. B. Sarkar as Apheterion and Chelitalo-Ching) comes within Kongoda mandal or even within Kalinga. But it was not within the area of Odradesa. Hiuen-Tsang had given a description of Odradesa and also of Kongoda and Kalinga. If Chelitalo-Ching was in the Chhatrapur zone the Chinese pilgrim would have certainly included it in the Kingdom of Kongoda and Kalinga. But as he was conscious of the fact that Chelitalo-Ching was a part of Odradesa he could easily refer it in his description of Odradesa. Hence we cannot

accept the identification of Chelitalo-Ching with Chhatrapur. Chelitalo-Ching appears to be different from Apheterion when we consider the geographical location of Apheterion as stated by Ptolemy and Marcianus. The historians have accepted Apheterion as one which was situated near Palaura zone and in that case Chelitalo-Ching situated in the Odradesa cannot be identified with Chhatrapur. The Sanskrit name for Apheterion is Samudraprastan sthana and its original name cannot be the regional name of Chelitalo-Ching. Apheterion of Greek accounts was an important point of departure for ships. Other points (directions) might have been there in ancient India. We presume that at a later phase another place near the Eastern Sea became famous as a resting place for sea-going traders. Its original name was probably corrupted by Hiuen Tsang as Chelitalo-Ching. If Palaura was correctly known to the Greek writers and Palaura is also known to all at present in that name and if Apheterion of the Greek account near it had a regional name which according to Sarkar is identical with Chelitalo-Ching of Hiuen Tsang at least one Greek writer must have been conscious about it, i. e., he would have known its regional name. It indicates that Samudraprasthan was known in that name in the early period, but Chelitalo-Ching existing at some other point of the Sea was a separate place for the sea-going traders.

3.2. A. P. Patnaik, an Orissan writer on maritime activities identified Chelitalo-Ching with Chhatragarh on the basis of archaeological evidences.¹¹ We can also reject this identification on the ground that Chhatragarh near Chilika lake was within the territory of Kongoda and not within the Odradesa.¹² I like to draw the attention of the learned historians to these points;

- (i) Apheterion of the Greek accounts is different from Chelitalo-Ching.
- (ii) It cannot be identified with Chicacole or even with Chhatrapur.

Iv. Apheterion is identical with Chhatragarh

4.1. I like to identify Apheterion with Chhatragarh on the basis of the archaeological evidences.¹³ Chhatragarh is situated within the Chilika lake zone. In this locality there is a village called Garhwar (which indicate the existence of a fort). Besides on its north-west corner at the foot of the Bhalleri hillock there is a village called Nuagarh.

There are also other remains of a fort within the Chilika lake zone. The first evidence for the existence of an ancient port is the Pradipa (Lamp) on the summit of the hillock. In ancient time a lamp was placed on a high pillar to point out the directions (Digabareni). The second evidence in the existence of Keutabasti/Kandarabasti (fishermen community). According to tradition these people were the descendants of the sea-borne traders of the early time. They claim to be of Naga-Sampradaya which indicates the connection of their predecessors with sea-borne trade. In the early period near a port there was a religious centre (Saiva or Buddhist). The traders before the voyage worshipped the deities for auspicious moment. Near Chhatragarh there is a lamp post (Batikhamba) which is near the temple of the Goddess Narayani on the summit of the hillock. There is also a Saiva temple called Langaleswar and Buddhist remains can be seen in a zone called Achyatarajpur. The other evidence for the appreciation of Chhatragarh as a centre of navigation is the existence of a dock. The dock is about 11 kilometres from the mouth of the lake up to the foot of the Bhalleri hillock. At the south side of this there is a port whose height is about 30 to 40 feet. An ancient port called Pathara is found near Chhatragarh. Near Pathara there is a village called Belantara (indication of a maritime zone) where one can find stone pillars (Pathara Khunti) which were sized like temples. These are probably identical with anchors (Langhara) which were used in early time. Further research on these stone pillars may highlight the real nature of the anchors of ancient Orissa. The other interesting connection of Chhatragarh with maritime activities and the point of departure for ships is Manikya-patana.

All these archaeological evidences go in support of the location of Apheterion of Ptolemy in the Chhatragarh zone which is also not far away from Palaura.

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ELEPHANT TRADE IN ORISSA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

—Lalatendu Das Mohapatra

Since time immemorial elephant continued to form an important commodity structure of trade in Orissa. In medieval period the forests of Orissa abounded with considerable number of elephants. It is said that Firuz Shah Tughlaq's main intention of invading Orissa was to hunt elephant in her forests.¹ The Hindu Kings of Orissa since the time of the Gangas, were known as *Gajapati* as they took it a pride to ride on elephants, rather than horse in their drive. This was possible because of the availability of this animal in adequate number in the State. It also seems that they were exported to the overseas countries in those days. A sculpture now placed in the State Museum of Orissa depicting the transportation of an elephant on the boat, testifies our views.

However, it is an irony that in the seventeenth century these animals were imported in large-scale to Orissa. It is also not easy to say whether these animals which were available in huge number during fourteenth and fifteenth centuries depleted in our time. Even now also the forests of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Phulbani, Khurda and Singbhum district in Bihar abound with good number of elephants. Considering this fact it may be presumed that they were available in adequate number in those days because of the vastness of the size of the forests. However the European documentation provides us adequate data of importation of this animal from South-East Asian countries and Ceylone in the period under review. The following two tables which is compiled from the information contained in the English and Dutch documents will give us an idea about this trade. The main source of our information in English is the Balasore Factory Records of the English East India Company. Since their primary interest was the trade of the Company, rather than the local merchants, the factors of Balasore mention them only as side reference. Hence our information about them is rather sketchy. Nevertheless, they are useful for forming a general idea about the commodity structure of trade handled by the local and other Asian merchants from the port of Balasore. The volume of the document starts from 1679 A. D. and ends in 1687 A. D. It would of course be not fair to rely solely on this source of information. But the Dutch records on the other hand which is more detailed and reliable can be well-supplemented with this which would enable us to form a consolidated picture. Since the Dutch manuscripts have not been consulted by me in original I produce here the researches and compilation of data from the same source by Susil Choudhuri in table II with regard to the trade carried out by two prominent Hindu merchants, Khem Chand and Chintamani Shah of Balasore from 1682 to 1685. Since our primary interest is Elephant I exclude here other merchandise mentioned in the list in both the tables.

TABLE I²

Ship arrived from	Name of the owner	Date of entry	Number of Elephants
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
2 from Jaffanapatam	Not mentioned	9th September 1679	Not mentioned
2 from Tenasserim	King of Siam	9th September 1679 ..	Not mentioned
Tenasserim	Khem Chand	20th March 1680	21
Achin	Not mentioned	13th April 1680	Not mentioned
Tenasserim	Malik Kasim	14th April 1680	10
Tenasserim	Not mentioned	25th April 1680	25
Tenasserim	Khem Chand	29th January 1684	Not mentioned
Pegu	A Muslim	.. 27th January 1684 ..	Not mentioned

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Cochin China	Khem Chand and Chintamani Shah.	1st April 1684	5
Tenasserim	A Muslim ..	18th April 1684	1
Tenasserim	Khem Chand and Chintamani Shah.	5th May 1684	Not mentioned
Gale	A Muslim	3rd October 1684	1 alive out of 5
Aracan	Not mentioned	24th April 1685	Not mentioned
Coringa	Chintamani Shah ..	6th May 1685	Not mentioned
Tenasserim	Shaista Khan ..	29th May 1685	Not mentioned

TABLE II *

Ship arrived from	Name of the owner	Date of entry	Number of elephants
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Tenasserim	Khem Chand	6th May 1682	22
Gale	Khem Chand	10th August 1682	7
Gale	Khem Chand	August 1682	11
Jaffanapatam	Chintamani Shah	21st September 1682	5
Tenasserim	Khem Chand	11th May 1683	19
Gale	Khem Chand	October 1683	14
Gale	Chintamani Shah	March 1685	9
Achin	Khem Chand ..	May 1685	22

The above two tables show that the elephants were mainly brought from Gale and Jaffanapatam in Ceylone, Tenasserim in Siam, Achin in Indonesia, Pegu and Aracan in Burma. They were also occasionally brought from Cochin, China and Coringa. Besides these, the English traveller Thomas Bowrey informs us that they were also brought from Queda in Malayesia.⁴ In Table I all the data do not provide us the number of elephants brought in a ship. In such cases the number may vary from one to as many as twenty-five or even more.

These animals were mainly purchased by the *Nawabs, Zamidars, Rajas* or other higher strata of the society. They were also regarded as very valuable rarity for presentation as gifts, for which we have many such examples. In 1611, the King of Khurda after being defeated by Raja Kalyan Mal agreed to present a tribute of three lakhs of rupees and his famous elephant Sheshanaga to the emperors along with his daughter. In his autobiography *Tuzuk Jahangir* mentions that shortly after 24th August 1617, he viewed 18 elephants sent to him by Raja Kalyan Mal from Orissa.⁵ In 1628, Shah Jahan received 5 elephants from Baqar Khan and in 1636, 8 others from Mutaqad Khan, the *Subahdar* of Orissa.⁶ In 1662, Khan-i-Dauran, the *Sabadar* also presented 5 elephants to the emperor on the occasion of the marriage of two of his (Khan's) sons, together with 2 other elephants presented by the Sultan of the Golconda.⁷ Similarly in 1655, the Governor of Balasore Presented an elephant to a Hindu Raja possibly the Raja of Mayurbhanj.⁸ It is quite likely that many imported elephants figured among these gifts.

It is still not clear why these animals were brought from the overseas countries in spite of their availability in the local jungles. Possibly their local breeding was not enough to meet the demand. But one more reason may be that the imported elephants were more strong and energetic than the local variety for which they were so prized. About the Ceylonese elephants Bowrey says, "they are generally large and well sett of a most hardly constitution, and Endowed with more sense and reason then those of Tenassareè, Queda or Syam".⁹ According to him every year at least 13 to 14 big ships belonging to merchants of Hugli, Pipli and Balasore went to Ceylone and Tenasserim to bring elephants.¹⁰ Even a few years back the elephants of Siam and Burma were regarded very good and better than any other elephants in Asia. That's why they were so much in demand in the local market. We are informed by the English Factory Records how the Raja of Mayurbhanj was disgusted when he was refused permission by the Governor of Balasore to take away one Siam elephant which he had purchased.¹¹ This shows the extent of their demand in Orissa.

One strong motivating factor which induced the merchants to indulge in this trade was the extraordinary profit they fetched. Bowrey also informs us that an elephant of Kedah which was available at 200 Spanish *rials* was sold in Musulipatam or Bengal at 3,000 rials.¹² (1 rial=2 rupees approximately). This shows that they fetched 15 times more in India than their original prices. The Governor of Balasore who presented an elephant to a local Raja was valued at Rs 5,000.¹³ During this time State officials dominated the shipping business in Balasore. Obviously it was the intention to get such fabulous animal in a cheap price for self consumption or to present them as gift, which induced them to participate in shipping business. The list also shows that a ship could bring as many as 25 elephants. This gives us an idea about the size of the ship in those days. Apart from Asian merchants the private English traders were engaged in this trade.¹⁴

The Dutch East India Company after they became ruling power in coastal Ceylone in 1658 A.D. also encouraged the merchants of Orissa and Bengal to purchase these animals from them. Traditionally Ceylone depended upon Orissa coast and Bengal for their rice and other food-stuffs. Except for a very good harvest season in Ceylone, rice was regularly exported from here to the Island. Apart from rice, calicoes and silk were also exported. They were exchanged for cinnamon, areca-nuts, conch-shells and elephants. When the Dutch became the ruling power there they took steps to regulate the trade in their favour. Firstly, they prohibited the merchants of Bengal and Orissa to carry clothes to the island which they wanted to make it their monopoly. Secondly so far as the Ceylonese products were concerned the company compelled the Indian merchants to accept whatever quality and prices they were offered. This one-way approach of the Company severely disrupted the traffic of these places with Ceylone in the sixties of the seventeenth century.¹⁵

The disruption of this traffic caused a serious dislocation of Ceylonese economy. When the merchants stopped coming to Ceylone, the island faced serious shortage of rice. Secondly the elephant which was available in plenty in the jungle remained unsold. The sale of this animal fetched good revenue to the Company's Government. Though the Company wanted to handle this trade themselves in view of their very attractive prices in India they were not in a position to bring them as this involved considerable risk of their death during sea-voyage.¹⁶ Neither they were in a position to bring rice to the island as this was not considered very lucrative which would lock up sufficient spaces in their ships for other valuable products. On the other hand the merchants were also not prepared to engage in rice-elephant trade alone. They now turned to Kedah and Aracan from where also they could get elephant quite easily.¹⁷ The Company now realising the futility of their restrictive policy wanted to give some incentives to the merchants. They were compelled to lower the prices of elephants and allowed the merchants to bring clothes to the island. Though theoretically the restriction to Indian merchants continued it was not made applicable to the merchants of Bengal and Orissa until 1684.¹⁸ In view of this in the early seventies and eighties the trade in elephant was fairly in large-scale.

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BOAT BUILDING IN ORISSA

—Rabi Narayan Dash

The boat is the answer to the means of transport in water. It has an antique origin. Its use is intensely felt in the land intersected by rivers or traversed by the sea. Also, groups of islands on the sea make it necessary to take recourse to the boat. Orissa being situated on the sea coast and fragmented by many big and small rivers and having elaborate water logged lands at the coast was ecologically set to devise and use boats for its inland and sea trade. In fact Orissa has a greater possibility of preparing such boats useful in the riverain transport as well as sea faring ventures. An attempt is made here to project in short the boat building activities in Orissa-

Boat building in Orissa had been influenced by various-factors. Those include communication facilities, transportation of goods, activities of offence and defence and trade with the coastal and outside lands. Tracing the history of boat building activities in this region we find evidences of the same from the pre-historic times. We find adzes and a number of chisels belonging to the neolithic period indicative of wood working. Strangely enough these objects are found from the port areas of Manikpātṇa and Tamralipta on the sea. Tamralipta was ecologically and politically a part of Orissa till the middle of the 19th century A. D. Such tools are also found from Sarankul and Golabai which lay at the coast of the Chilka lake during the holocene period. These occurrences postulate boating activities in the dawn of the neolithic and the chalcolithic periods which might have continued in the copper-bronze age. The presence of shouldered celts confirms such a proposition.

Coming to the historic period we get evidences of trading activities in this land. It is argued that Ashoka, the Mauryan emperor, invaded Orissa to capture its sea faring and trading activities. But we have no direct knowledge of the type of boat used in Orissa during that period, nor the building technique of the same handed down to us. During the time between Ashoka and Kharvela the boat building activities in Orissa is found recorded in the *Dāthāvamsa*, translated from Ceylonese sources in 310 A. D. (Law 1925: 40-41). Verse 42 of Ch. IV records that Danta-Kumāra and Hemamālā saw "the ship with the planks strongly fixed, the big mast well-fixed, the big oars guided by skillful captain which was of its own accord going to Lanka and was occupied by merchants". But how the planks could be strongly fixed? Probably those were attached to each other by fish-joinry as is found in ancient ship building. Again verse 56 notes that the ship with banners moved by wind quickly reached the port of Lanka (*Ibid*). Since the ship has been noted as moving rapidly it might have been provided with sails. Ofcourse we have no idea about the material in which these sails were built but looking to the sails prepared by reeds and bamboo plaques and used in the boats moving in the Chilka lake we can contemplate the nature of the sail affixed to these boats. Since this is the matured form of boat building its evolution in Orissa need to be traced.

In the period between the 8th and 12th centuries A. D. the *Caryā* songs or *Dohās* were written. We find mention about the plying of ships in those songs noted in an indirect way; but no description records about the process of the building of boats. For instance in the *Dohā* song No. 4 *Kambalapāda* (as compiled by Dasgupta) has written allegorically about boats filled with cargces. The transliteration of the *Dohā* is as follows:

"Soni bhariti Karunā nāvi
Rupā thoī mahiki thāvi or (Nabika thāvi,-Bagchi).
Bāhatu Kamali gaana ubesen
Mele jama bāhudai kainsen.
Khuntiupādi melili kāchhi
Bāhatu Kamali Sadguru puchhi." (Dasgupta 1962: 44)

Dasgupta has rendered the translation as, "I have (says Kambala) pulled the peg up and torn the rope of the boat, — and Kamali is steering forward seeking at every step the instructions of the wise preceptor". The translation of the last but one line of the above verse may be of some concern to the boats built in Orissa. The same may thus be rendered with some modification of the translation provided by Dasgupta, as 'I have pulled the anchor up and loosened the ropes (i.e. Kāchhi)'. The 'word Kāchi' is also found used in the writings of Fakir Mohan Senapati which confirms the archaic use of the term as recorded in Dohā songs. Further the reference to Buddhist monk Prajñā's visit to China along with a Buddhist manuscript and the return visit of Fa-Hien or Fa-Shien from India to China in a large merchant vessel also supplements the indications provided in the Dohā songs.

Similarly in song No. 38 Saraha (transliterated here) indicate oars fitted with the boat and the process of navigation as follows:

"Kaa gabadi khanti mana keduāla

Sadguru-Vaane dhara patavāla (or patavala)

Chia thirakari dharahure nahi (or nai)

Ana upāe parāna jāi

"(or Ana upāye parā-na jāi)". (*ibid* 45).

Kānhupāda indicates in Doha No. 11. that boats were fitted with oars. (*ibid*: 90).

Dombipāda says in verse No. 8 to ply in the middle path:

"Vāmā Dāhina Chāpi mili mili mariga

Vatata milila mahasukhā sariga".

He has further spoken about the oars fitted to the boat and instructs about tying up of the boat in the mani-mula. He has further instructed that the boats are to be kept vigilantly dry by throwing out the percolating water so that water may not enter through the joints. He further indicates that boats are fitted with wheels and masts (Pulindas) and states to ply the boat without being negligent by looking to the sides. (*Ibid*: 97).

In song No. 49 Bhusukpāda states that he steered the thunder-boat through the canal of lotus:

"Vaja nāva pādi paua khale Vāhiu

Adaa-Vangale Klesa lutiu".

'Adaa-vangale, may be 'Adda maṅgaāle' otherwise it will be difficult to make the verse meaningful. Bhusukpāda notes about the plying of boats in the rivers which further provides reference to inland navigation in Orissa.

Khāravala regained independence for this land and accelerated trade and naval activities. This trend continued through the middle ages till the end of the Gaṅga and probably the Gajapati period in Orissan history. However, in gradual reduced proportions the tradition continued till the Marahattā rule in Orissa. Later during the British rule the naval power and trade in Orissa got the biggest setback to be extinct as a force under the sun. The cause being the deep sea piracy, swift moving ships of the English, Dutch and the Portuguese with better striking power from a long range and the firmly built boats. Besides, patronisation of the trade by the rules were absolutely lacking and English people after capturing India did not allow the Indian and the Orissan naval forces and the merchant ships to flourish. As such, voyager expertise, ship building skill and the protective force were found grossly wanting to boost shipping and ship building in Orissa. This brought an end to this industry to the lowest ebb and the contemporary literature provide instances of the same.

Present boats and their building activities:—

Taking into account the folk ways of preparing boats for occasional and regular transport it is seen that various types of floats, rafts and dugouts or canoes are being made for use.

Floats

I.—Float of the simplest type is a piece of light log capable of floating and supporting the person over it on the water. (Hornell : 1948 : 124). This is particularly used in shallow lake and still water of the river. In the country side a single earthen vessel held upside down in the water and the body of the swimmer resting over the same in such a manner that the vessel remains in a position not to release air through water. This can be compared with the 'globular earthen ware jar or chatty' of Punjab and Sind region of India (Hornell : 1946 : 125). It is a replacement for the log. Plantain tree shoots are seen used to serve the purpose of crossing streams in rural areas. Simple floats are found in the Ansupā lake and in parts of the Mahānadi, Brāhmani and Vaitarani rivers used by the fishermen. Such floats serve the purpose of short distance swimming individual fishing operations. T. Mottes used floats in the 1st May 1766 to cross his baggages across the river (5a). But we do not have any knowledge about the nature of the float or the river he crossed. The wood used for such a float is pālādhuā (*Erythrina Indica*), Simili (*Bombax Malabari-cum*), Debadāru (*Cedrus Deodara*) and occasionally mango (*Mangifera Indica*). These woods are used after being dried properly and then cut to required sizes. Probably Gambhāri (*Gmolina Arborea*), Tamāl (*Diospyrus-Tomentosa*) and Panasa (*Autocarpus Integrifolius*) woods are used for ship building purposes since such wood is found utilised in building ships in Bengal (Dasgupta : 1923 : 111).

II.—The log is found to be substituted by a bundle of Sola (*Aeschynomene aspera*) or reeds and swimmers and fishermen use the same in fast flowing rivers to cross the current which keep them floating. In the marsh lands and wide shallow pools of Bengal Sola is also used (Chattopadhyay : 1944 : 13) to prepare rafts which resemble Orissan types. These floats resembling sea rafts of the Egyptian pyramids are found to be elaborated on the sea coast of India (Hornell : 1921 : 144). During Chandan festival (boating ceremony of the gods) such reed bundles are used by the people to float in the water. At recent times inflated motor tubes have been used for this purpose. In the country side plantain-logs joined together to form a type of float is used. Even weeds heaped on a circular frame of light wood or plantain shoots are seen used for the purpose of making a float. These are unsuitable for high running rivers or in the sea though the people in rural areas of coastal Orissa make use of these materials.

III.—Floats prepared in their extended sizes can be called multiple floats or rafts. These rafts are prepared by adding more than one floating logs together as per the required capacity of the craft. It is most probably an imitation of the plantain-log lashed raft in wood to give strength and durability to the float. It is also believed that reed rafts gave way to log bundles which eventually developed into catamarans originated in the riverine areas (Hornell : 1921 : 144). Orissa being a land of rivers could also be a place which might have adopted such a course since Nolias elaborately use catamarans on the sea coast. Even three or more flat rough planks about six to eight feet long are bound together in such a manner that the middle plank is set lower than the other planks. The lower middle plank form a sort of keel for the float. It is more suitable for sea-going than the flat ones. The Nolia boats at the coast are the representatives of such crafts.

Earthen vassels, bamboo pieces and reed bundles are joined together to form a sort of raft and used in various parts of Orissa for short distance river transports. Bigger rafts formed by tying a number of bamboo pieces into square platforms, called "Bāunṣa pātali" (a sort of kelek) are made to transport bamboos from the upper reaches of the Māhanadi river during floods down to the coastal areas. It resembles the shaped raft sailing in Formosa (Hornell : 1946 : 133) but without the matting. On this open platform a semicircular covering is raised in the middle as rest house for the crew. This type of float is intended for long distance journeys in the down stream only. A long bamboo shaft or oars are used to ply this raft as per requirements.

IV. Water-crafts—smaller in size are prepared by bundles of reed and grasses like Benā (Andropogon Murica), Juna (Saccharum Fuscum) and such other types after being dried up in the Sun. These are found to be used in coastal shallow waters when water logging becomes a feature during tides and floods. Usually fishermen move with these crafts in the calm water of the Chilka lake coasts where they lay their fish-traps. These may be equivalent to sea rafts of Hornell (Hornell:1921:144). Besides, in the 'Sara' lake and the mouth of the Rishikulyā river such water crafts are to be found.

Dugouts

There are various types of dugouts used in Orissan waters.

I. Dangā

A single tree or log dug or scooped out of its trunk make a dugout or canoe. These are called Dangā, Kāthuā, etc., in the Oriya tongue. It is a long and narrow boat. These crafts resemble the "light draught dugouts on the great Inle lake in Burma" (Hornell: 1946: 134-135) or Jalor, a shallow dugout canoe of the Malay peninsula (Sayth: 1906:101). Longer varieties of this canoe called "Sāpei or Sāpuā Dangā" is used in almost all parts of the State. It resembles the small narrow feeding traw of the cattle in the country side, now on the verge of extinction, called "Kunda or Dangi". It was carried by the cart drivers to different distant places when the stay is longer outside the home. Even it was in use in the cattlepens of the houses. It is more favourable in shallow and still waters than high speed river currents; though their use during floods are witnessed in various parts of Orissa. Palm or coconut trees are cut, hollowed inside by adzes and the bark or the outer skin portion striped off the trunk. The lower or outer portion remains round. The butt end of the craft is provided with a projecting part which serves as a prow of the canoe. The craft is used mainly by fishermen and at times by a few passangers. It is difficult to control such a canoe which is more prone to capsize in running water and unsuitable for sea. Smaller boats know as Huli Danga is a development of the same.

II. Catamaran

Catamaran is an improved float. More than one log of equal sizes shaped either roughly or finely and platformed by lashing make a catamaran. Temple also provides the same definition (Temple: 1925: 220). But in Orissa coasts such crafts are usually found to have been made with three or five logs of equal sizes shaped and joined in such a manner that both the ends of these objects are narrower and a little upturned than the platform in the middle. It resembles the fishing catamaran of the Madras coast (Hornell: 1946:132). The logs are joined in a loose manner so that water goes out when splashes of waves jump over the board. The catamarans are used for fishing purposes and these are made flat and wide without any side walls. To some extent it resembles the Formosan bamboo sailing raft (Hornell: 1921:144).

Catamarans are further developed by adding "Kānthi" or gunwales (i.e. side walls) to the flat board. These are usually flared outside or curved inside at the top of the side wall to prevent water splitting into it. It is comparable to the mammoth catamarans used in flying-fish fishery (Hornell: 1946:133). The top of this wall is made wider in order to facilitate planks to provide a platform known as "Dāli". The side walls are known as "Bāda" in northern Orissa. The sea going bigger catamarans called 'Padhau' or Dinghy have no masts. Such Padhaus have affinity with the big sailing catamaran of Brazil (Hornell: 1921:145-6). The addition of masts make it "sulupā"—as called in northern Orissa. Su'upā (Senapati: 1963:581) probably a name derived from the English ship "sloops" (Encyclopedia Americana: 1970: Vol. 24:116) engaged in coastal sea trade. Padhau is the sea-going fishing boat of the Nolias on the Orissan coast. But such type of boats plying in the river are known as "Kośali Dangā". The name is probably derived from its origin in the Kosala area lying on the upper reaches of the Mahānadi. Such boats are used in the Mahānadi, Brāhmaṇi and such other bigger rivers. This boat has a flat keel or board where as the Nolia Padhau has a mid board keel formation.

In "Padhau" and at times in case of "Kosali Dangā" the side planks or "Kānthi" are joined by lashing through the holes made for the purpose. These can be called "Carvel built". The earlier Koṣali Danga was not stitched but joined by fish joints a device employed in ancient ship building. The ropes used for lashing are of coconut and palm fibres. The wooden planks put across to fix firmly the side walls without getting loose are called "Pakhi". In northern Orissa particularly in Chandbali area catamarans belonging to this type and provided with a mast, are called "Desi Mālbāhi" ships. To ply catamarans and "Koṣali Dangā" and even Desi Mālbāhi ships, Kāta or bamboo poles are used when the depth of the river permits its use. Otherwise, oars (Āhulā) take of the function, particularly, when river is in high flood or the depth of the river is considerable to permit its use.

III. Multiple Catamarans

More than one catamaran is joined to provide a bigger platform so that more materials could be transported and the ship could undertake longer journeys. This type is called "Chāpa" in southern Orissa the specimens of which are found in the Chandana or Sandal festival of the Lords in the month of Baiṣākha (May-June). But in northern Orissa such ships are known as "Dui Duliā" which are capable of carrying considerable load. But the floored outboard of Chāpa was found unsuitable in the open sea either for the voyage or for fishing operations (Hornell: 1946: 137). But the genesis of the outriggers owe more to the Chāpa type of ships by shrinking the outboard rowing gallery. In this connection Orissa might have contributed a lot.

Coracle shaped Water-Crafts

Such type of boats are rarely used and also rarely prepared. It is a basket shaped one, circular in shape and covered with lac or gum to prevent water percolating through the matting joints. Bamboo, cane and pata (a type of peeled out bark) derived from the shafts or roots are used to prepare such baskets. Lac is used after being boiled with some glue and anointed over the basket so that it closes opening passes of the woven basket. After that it is left to settle hard and then used for small distance transport. Generally small streams and occasionally flooded low lands are crossed by this device. It resembles a type used in North-Western India and outside where the skin of the bovines cover these baskets. The Indian name "Droṇi" (Praharaj: 1933: 3218.) or 'Doni' (King: 1887: 362) probably explains such a type. Temple believes that the name 'Doni' is derived from Tamil 'Toni' meaning 'a vessel made from a single tree' (Temple: 1887: 362:). Most probably the Orissan type was originally prepared by scooping out a circular wood. The prototype of the same is seen in the feeding trough of the cattle. It has got resemblance with the 'Tigari' of Eastern Bengal (Prasad: 1920: 36: Wall: 1920: 39).

A ship in building process prepares the frame at the first instance and gradually other parts are joined subsequently to it. The construction of different parts can be treated separately.

Hull or Frame

The frame is the essential part of a ship and is composed of the keel. It is either the flat or the 'U' shaped base with a ridge running from end to end longitudinally, i. e. the rib. The frame runs across from keel to deck. The frame is planked, i. e. joining of the walls by wooden planks. The planks are put side by side from top to bottom as well as from end to end longitudinally.

The method of joining are either by stitching or by nailing. In the stitching process a number of holes are created probably by iron-drills (Hariharan: 1966: 28) at the edges of the planks placed close to each other. Coconut fibre is used in stitching. This process is equivalent to the method used in the masula boats of the Madras coast (Hornell: 1946: 136) and was used probably in the early shipping of Orissa. It is for this that the ships could not endure long voyages across the sea. But this was suitable for coastal trade and the Orissan

merchant vessels preferred following Burmese coast line to Indonesia and other south-east Asian lands on the one hand and Ceylon on the other adhering to the Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala coasts. Since India's western coast was peculiarly absent in the early literature of Orissa it is quite likely that Orissan navy found it unsuitable or keenly competitive to carry on trade in this region in a greater scale.

The sea-going boats have different arrangements in planking the hull. The planks are nailed in lieu of stitching. This is found applied to the river moving boats. The nailing process was probably continued from a long period and it might have been derived from the earlier method of fish joinery. "Prastavasindhu" of the Vaiṣṇava poet Dīnakruṣṇa (15th Cent. A. D.) mentions about nails which have been prepared by saw and both the ends of these nails are inserted into the two consecutive planks (Singh:1964:556). The method of joining planks by wooden bits in lieu of nails were practised by the carpenters of Orissa in medieval times which continued till the early twentieth century.

Caulking or Sealing

The ship after planking need sealing to prevent water from percolating through the joints of the planks. For the same suitable agents are applied in Orissa which include lac, straw, coir, jute gum, etc. Special care is taken to apply these agents so that they could withstand the forces of water for a longer period of time.

Masts

Masts herald the using of sails in the ships. At the initial stage a single mast was decorating the ship which supported a big square sail. This mast was fixed at the middle of the sailing vehicle indicating a wind propelled craft (The New book of Knowledge :1969: Vol. 17, P.158). Similar ships ply in the Chilka lake of Orissa. Even the likeness of such boats are found in "Duuni" of north Orissa (Senapati :1963: 622). Mention is made about one mast ships of Orissa, which is probably taken the waters of the Chilka lake. In 'Pāikakhādā' probably they are termed as Khudupā. Khaijagā and Gangāprasād. (Rathasarma: illustrations).

To give more speed to the ships addition of sails probably necessitated the provisions of more masts. Thus the two masted ships came into being. Examples exist in the 'Dhow' of Arabian make and Brig and Brigantine of European origin. (The Children's encyclopaedia: 1969: Vol. 17,P.156). Taking into consideration the Orissan types we come across double masted ones built at Dhāmṛā. At times the 'Sulupā' ships are provided with double masts when they are built in an extended form. In this state, it is more commonly known as "Eka Duliā" (Senapati :1963: 585). Most probably two masted ships, as mentioned in Pāikkhedā, include Nāndiā, Rājpur, Lānjuā and Chaturī (Rathasarma: illustrations). Such type of boats have echoes in the double masted Malaya boats. It may indicate contact of Orissa with Malayam ships by way of trade. But it cannot be said certainly which side was at the receiving end. It is believed (Hariharan: 1965-66: 30) that the two masts are intended to balance the ship.

The bigger merchant ships having three masts, may be more suitable for sea trade. In north Orissa, particularly Balasore area, these vessels are known as "Dui Duliā" or "Gorāp". It is more similar to carvel type of the west and the Arab countries. A different type of this ship with a bigger space for merchandise appears more like the Barkentine ships of the West but with the difference that the depth of the sides in such Gorāp ships are more.

In earlier times masts were prepared in teak, sisu and such other strong but light woods. In recent times though sail ships have gone out of use in a big way yet the metal mast have gradually replaced the wooden ones in the early twentieth century and probably in the late nineteenth century.

The masts are equipped with many navigational articles. These are 'Safardari Rasi' (the rope connecting the front mast with the top of the cabin or Chāpadār' 'Nāvarā Daudi', '(the ladder like ropes connecting both the sides of the ship to the top of the cabin), Kāchhi (a small narrow rope kept on the ship), etc. Moreover, the ship is provided with 'Pāgd' (the rope for fixing the ship at the dock or Gudi) which is tied in the 'perchhā' or the side walls of the ship. The flag post or "Bāhutiākundā" is attached to the stern of the ships. In the same Bāhutā or flag is attached which may be in red, white or yellow. All these features answer the requirements of outrigger ships and Orissan vessels possess them. Since outriggers were the representatives of the crafts dominating the coastal trade from Ceylon (with Sinhalese costers) to Indonesia and Polynesia (where outriggers are in fullest development) with its probable origin attributed to the inland waters of the Irrawaddy and the Mekong in Further India (Hornell: 1946: 136) it can also be suggested that the origin of this type is also probable in the Orissan coast or inland water of Mahānadi, Brāhmaṇi and Vaitarani rivers flowing since early holocene times.

Sail (Ajhāla or Pāla)

The sail is provided in a ship to propel the craft in to the sea. These are found in rectangular, square, triangular quadrangular and of unequal sides (Senapati: 1963: 9). In most of the cases square, rectangular and triangular sails are found to be used in the sea-going ships of North Orissa. Special names of these sails like Karāju, Kalāmi, Sabar, Jivi, Tabhar, Jariā and Pelā are applied in consideration of their shape, size and made (Senapati: 1969: 9). The material that prepare these sails are Talei (mat), cloth, canvas, sack, etc. Talei or mat is used in the ships plying in Chilka lake whereas in the northern Orissa the sail is made of cloth. The mat sail used in Orissa to a great extent resemble the "junk" (The Children's encyclopedia 1969: 157) of the Oriental world. This is prepared by bamboo peels, cane, woven date-palm leaves, etc. and used as per the intended distance to be covered. The smaller distance or coastal run vessels employ less durable mat whereas the strong mat is used in longer voyages. However, these ships do not move out of the Chilka lake area. These sails of various sizes and numbers ranging from six to twelve have been used in the northern Orissan ships. Probably the greater number of sails were used in bigger and full-masted ships. From the same it is further known that ships with various types of masts were using different number of sails. As to name of these sails we have come to know that Taber is the top sail of the mast. Gavi is the main sail tied to the mast and Jivi is the fore-and-aft sail (Praharaj: 1934: 4797) or lateen. The Tabar and Gavi are square and rectangular in shape, respectively whereas Jivi is triangular in dimension and fixed lengthwise laterally on the ship.

Anchor (Naṅgar)

Naṅgars are provided in the ships to keep it at rest in the docks or to allow the ship to take shelter in difficult situations. The north Orissan sail ships make provision for one or two iron anchors at the front and also one or two anchors at the back (Rathasarma: illustrations). The back anchors is termed as 'latādi' (Senapati: 1963: 620). The ships in the Chilka lake use large and heavy perforated stones as anchors which are tied with firm ropes. Kavivara Chintamani Mohanty in his 'Chilka' tour has shown that huge stones were loaded in the boats with ropes tied to it and during stormy hours those are thrown to the lake so that the stones serve as anchors and the ropes as tying material of the boats. We have come to know that iron anchors were being built at Balasore weighing 14 to 15 quintals (30 to 40 Mds.) (Senapati: 1963: Vol. 2, P. 715) but the process of their make has remained unknown to us. In the Orissa State Museum some old anchors have been kept which are of considerable weight. These anchors are of Portuguese and Dutch origin. So far only one anchor has come to our notice belonging to English origin which is lying near Chandbali port. Probably the Orissan anchors found mention by Senapati was imitations of foreign types for which the process of moulding of such anchors remained unknown. At present anchors are being procured from Calcutta, Bombay and Vizag port areas.

Prow and Stern

The frontal end of the ship is called 'maṅga' or prow. It is added to the ship at the last stage of construction. The shapes vary and the Orissan ships use swan, eagle, elephant and lion heads or winged horses. The most common is the swan which is also found to decorate the boats of the gods in the sandal festival during the summer. In Bengal serpent, tiger and buffalo shapes adorn the prows (Dasgupta: 1923: 112) and it may be that the tiger and serpent might have been used in Orissa also but not buffalo which is considered inauspicious in Orissa. The head of dragon also adorns the prow of Orissan ships. Pāik Khedā and other literary references confirm this. On the prow the captain or 'Maṅguāla' sits and directs the course of the ship. The Mirdha or the group leader of the Nāvikas or sailors obey and steer the vessel accordingly.

In the Orissan ships stern does not appear unique. It is rather equivalent to the frontal part minus the prow.

Deck

The deck of the ships provide railing or raised side walls. It is intended to prevent water entering the ship and to accommodate cabin and 'Khola' (the place intended to keep merchandise in the ship). Further, 'Hulidangā' or life-boat, and provision for guns either big or small (Kadābin) are to be found on the side of the decks. In north Orissa such life-boats are called Batāli.

The traditional ship-building in Orissa is affected due to the emergence of mechanised and other modern methods in the industry. Further, inland trade has switched over to other means of transport because of repaid development in infrastructure and transportation system. The inland water transport is also affected due to the emergence of river dam projects which are leaving the downstream dry for a considerable period of the year. This also prevents long destination transportations in the river and the carriage quantity of the boats. The power boats in the river and lighter ships in the Chilka lake do not warrant larger ships to be built. Thus the indigenous traditional know-how has reached to the verge of extinction.

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THE PORT OF GOPALPUR DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: MARITIME ACTIVITIES AND SEA-CUSTOMS ESTABLISHMENT

—Prasanna Kumar Mishra

On the Coromandal Coast of India a good number of ports had come up and continued to exist in the 19th century. They were Ganjam, Gopalpur (Mansurkota), Sonapur, Baruya, Pundi, Bavanapadu and Calingapatam. Of these Gopalpur was the chief port of the district of Ganjam, which lay in 19°31' north latitude and 85°0' east longitude. With a population of 2,416 as per the 1881 census, the port area of Gopalpur was situated at a distance of 9 miles by road from Berhampur. It was a pleasant place of residence for the Europeans as the intense heat of May was tempered by the sea-breeze. Supply of fish was abundant here. To the north-east of Gopalpur there was a large backwater which separated it from the village of Mansurkota.¹

I.2. The port of Gopalpur was nothing more than an open roadstead similar to other ports on the eastern coast of the Madras Presidency. It called for the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Merchandise and other goods were landed on the beach close to the Customs House owned by F. J. V. Minchin. The port officer at Gopalpur was incharge of collection of sea customs, exercised magisterial powers and acted as a Justice of the Peace. From the flag-staff of the Customs House on the beach light was exhibited at night, which was visible at a distance of 13 miles. The limit of the port on the north-east or Mansurkota side was at a distance of 1,160 yards from the Customs House and on the south-west side at a distance of 600 yards from it. To seaward the boundaries of the port extended to where a depth of 12 fathoms was reached. No ballast might be discharged by ships within a depth of 12 fathoms.²

I.3. The depth of water in the anchorage varied from $8\frac{1}{2}$ to $9\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at low water. The bottom at these depths was sand mixed with stiff mud and was good holding ground. The rise and fall of the tide was about 6 feet. Under $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 fathoms the bottom consisted of sand and shells through which an anchor easily dragged. During the months of April, May and October, more especially the surf was frequently so high that communications between the shipping and the shore was interrupted for days together, but it was generally possible to communicate in the early part of the day. The prevailing wind was south to south-east and during fully eight months of the year it blew at times very strongly. The surf rose very quickly and being shorter and more chopping than the longer and more formidable-looking waves at Madras, was justly considered more dangerous to boats shipping cargo etc. The currents were stronger than at Madras. As a rule the current run with the wind. When the southerly winds commenced to blow in February, the current was found setting in strong to the north which it continued to do until towards the end of the south-west monsoon. The current then set slightly to the south-ward and when the north-east monsoon set in it ultimately became a strong southerly current.³

II

II.1. Gopalpur was a place of large and growing importance. There was no accommodation for the passengers, traders and shippers who were often obliged to spend a day or two at the port. Hence it was considered that a public bungalow was more required at Gopalpur than at any other place in the Presidency of Madras. The Board accordingly resolved to submit the plan and estimate for the sanction of the Government. Funds were not available immediately, but they would be allotted as soon as circumstances permitted. However, the estimate for the construction of a Traveller's Bungalow at the port of Gopalpur amounting to Rs. 2,100 was sanctioned.⁴ An estimate amounting to Rs. 4,050 for adding an upper storey to the existing customs building, was sanctioned in November 1883. But the Collector of Ganjam took exception to the proposal and recommended the erection of a new and much larger building, for which estimates were

prepared. If Horsfall's recommendation was accepted, the existing building must be removed to make way for the new ones. The old buildings were inconveniently designed for the addition of an upper storey, and so far as looking to the prospects of the port, the course recommended by Horsfall was the correct one. The site was suitable to the purpose and convenient in all respects. The line of the proposed pier would start from the centre of the new buildings. Messers Massey and Company's tender for the construction of this pier had been accepted and it was hoped that the deed of contract would shortly be signed, in which case the completion of the work might be looked for within 18 months or 2 years. ⁵ New buildings for Customs and Port Offices with an addition of Upper Storey to the existing customs building at an estimated cost of Rs. 4,050 were constructed by August 1885. ⁶ There was no clause in the Indian Ports Act. authorising the expenditure of Port Funds in the erection of sheds for the use of native passengers. And even if the cost could be met from Port Funds, the funds of the districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam were not in a position to bear the expenses. Hence such grants were to be met from the provincial revenues. Accordingly shelters in the form of sheds were provided for the comforts of the passengers embarking at Gopalpur, Calingapatam, Baruva, Bimalipatam, Vizagapatam and Mangalore. A sufficient number of bamboos for making a temporary hut were kept in store under the charge of the Medical Officer in-charge of Calingapatam, Baruva and Gopalpur, for at these ports the nearest hospital was not within easy distance of the landing place. Leaves and other materials required for making the hut were obtained on the spot at short notice. Light iron sheds at the ports of Mangalore, Vizagapatam, Calingapatam, Baruva and Gopalpur were erected. The cost of each light iron shed estimated at Rs. 1,600. ⁷

III

III-I. The Gopalpur pier after its completion in 1888, was handed over to the Marine Departments. Since then it had not been scraped, scaled, painted tarred, or received any of that attention which was so necessary to keep a work of this kind in order. The consequence was of course that the work was rapidly deteriorating. But the pier was generally, as regards the main features of its construction in excellent order. The piers showed no signs of sinkage or lateral movement; the girders were firm in their seatings and the deck was unmoved. It was a good and well constructed pier of its type. Whether that type was suited for the place was another question.

III-II. In May 1891 when the question of taking up and transferring to Negapatam the Gopalpur pier or portions thereof came up, the Government of Madras (Public Works Department) opined that it was not advisable to dismantle the pier at Gopalpur and further, remarked that the withdrawing of the pile would probably cost as much in some cases as the piles themselves and to dismantle the superstructure and leave the piles would prove very dangerous to the boat traffic of the port and hence it was strongly recommended that the pier be left where it was. ⁸ The Government of Madras, having had under consideration the future of the pier at Gopalpur, had decided to place it in proper repair at once. An estimate had been sanctioned for early execution by the Marine Department. The Public Works Department estimated the cost of the maintenance in proper repair of the pier at Rs. 500 per annum. The Presidency Port Officer would on the completion of the repairs recently sanctioned, report on this point and would state what arrangements he proposed for the charge of the pier. The Government was pleased to direct the reintroduction of pier dues at Gopalpur. A notification accordingly was thus issued: "It is hereby notified that the pier dues at the Port of Gopalpur which were specified in notification No. 38, at page 364 of the Fort St. George Gazette of the 29th May 1888, and which were withdrawn

in accordance with the instructions contained in G.O., dated 7th November 1889, No. 470 will be reintroduced and levied from the first day of November 1891." The notification referred to above is republished below for general information:—

“Notification

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council hereby notifies that, under section 7 of Madras Act VII of 1871, the provisions of the said Act and of Madras Act V of 1863 are extended from this date to the Pier at Gopalpur, and that under section I of Act V of 1863, tolls according to the following schedule will be levied upon the persons, carriages, merchandize, baggage and other articles shipped from, or landed at, the said pier from and after the 1st day of June 1888:—

SCHEDULE

	Rs.	A	P
Bag Cargo per boat load of 20 bags, each of exceeding 172 lb.	0	2	6
Sleepers per boat load not exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons weight	0	2	6
Hides, hemp, mats, per boat load or $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons.	0	4	0
Four-wheeled carriage	2	8	0
Two wheeled carriage	1	8	0
Horse or Pony	2	0	0
Bullock and cattle generally, each	1	0	0
Dogs, Sheep and other small animals, each	0	1	0
Machinery or each piece exceeding 1 ton and less than 5 tons per ton.	2	8	0
Machinery or each piece exceeding 5 tons per ton	3	0	0
Articles of $\frac{1}{2}$ ton or upwards and not otherwise specified, per ton or part of a ton each.	1	8	0
Pianoforte	5	0	0
All exports not provided for by schedule, per $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton or boat load	0	8	0
All imports not provided for by schedule, per $1\frac{1}{2}$ ton or boat load	0	8	0
Passengers, each	0	1	0
Native Passengers under Act X of 1887, each	0	0	6
Goods landed or shipped by pier on Sunday	Double rates		

Fees for Sundays, holidays and overtime shall be charged as per G. O. No. 493 of 28th August 1877.”

IV

The Governor in Council was pleased to direct that the following schedule of rates* of boat hire for the Port of Gopalpur should supersede the schedule published in a supplement to the Port St. George Gazette of 21st April 1891, so far as it related to the Port of Gopalpur.

*SCHEDULE

Between Sunrise and 8 p. m.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Accommodation boat, per trip	2	0	0
Accommodation boat, return trip from same vessel	1	0	0
Accommodation boat, return trip from different vessel	2	0	0
Cargo boat, per trip	1	0	0
Cargo boat, return trip from same vessel	0	12	0
Cargo boat, return trip from different vessel	1	0	0
Catamarans, per trip	0	5	0
Water boat, per trip	*2	0	0
Cargo boat for landing horses, per trip	2	0	0
For boats employed in landing carriage— If one boat is used, per trip	3	0	0
If two boats are required, then for each boat, per trip	2	8	0
Transshipping Cargo—			
For first trip, in addition to ordinary hire	1	0	0
For each succeeding trip, per day	0	12	0

Extraordinary rates

Between 8 P. M. and 4 A. M., Provided the boat leaves the shore after 8 P. M., per trip.	Double the ordinary rate
Between 4 A. M. and Sunrise, per trip	An ordinary rate and a half
During the period that either the surf or the current flag may be hoisted, and on all occasions when a boat carries a double crew by direction of the Port Officer.	Double the ordinary rate

*This charge includes cost of filling casks, providing ropes, buckets etc.

"In cases of extraordinary service as rendering aid to a vessel in distress within the limits of the Port, the Port Officer or other officer-in-charge of the Port, shall adjudge and allow such additional hire, as the circumstances of the case may seem to warrant, reporting the same for the information of the Collector of the districts".

"A double crew shall consist of 10 men and 2 boys. The surf or current flag shall be hoisted only when the Port Officer considers a double crew necessary.

J. F. Price, Chief Secretary"

By a notification issued on 16th November 1891, the Governor in Council was pleased to appoint the Port Officer of Gopalpur Port, to be the Registering Officer for the purpose of the Boat Rules framed under section 6(1), Act X of 1889. The same Port Officer was also appointed as Surveyor at the Port of Gopalpur for the purpose of approving and certifying the position of discs and every alteration thereof, ¹⁰ and with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council to fix the fees to be taken in respect of such approval or certificate as contained in the Schedule (Like load line, marks, certificates, draught of water and free board). ¹¹

V. 1. The Sea Customs establishment was revised. And the work at the Customs House at Gopalpur greatly increased due to increase in trade and bi-monthly visit of Coasting Steamers both from Calcutta and Bombay. It was found difficult to get through the work with the assistance of two Gumastas. Hence the Board was requested to obtain the sanction of the Government of Madras for the employment of a 3rd Clerk on Rs. 15 per month. The Collector of Ganjam recommended the employment of four Sweepers for the Customs Houses at the minor ports on Rs. 3 each per month. Currenly Rs. 6 were paid to the Cooly Sweepers under the sanction of the Board by debiting the amount to contingencies. The services of these Cooly Sweepers could not always be commanded. As there were government buildings in all these minor ports, it became necessary that there should be regular sweepers on monthly pay. To meet the additional cost of Rs. 27 the Collector of Ganjam proposed the abolition of the post of a Peon at the Port of Gopalpur as well as of the those of weighers in all the three principal ports, as the duties conducted by these later servants might be performed by other persons without any inconvenience whatever. It would be found that the proposal made, entailed no additional cost on the state*. On the contrary it saved Rs. 6 paid from contingencies to Cooly Sweepers, and added to the efficiency of the establishment. ¹²

*Saving by the abolition of Posts

Deduct proposed cost

1 Weigher at Gopalpur	Rs. 7-00	1 Third Clerk at Gopalpur	Rs. 15-00
1 Peon at Gopalpur	Rs. 6-00	1 Sweeper at Barwah	Rs. 3-00
1 Weigher at Ganjam	Rs. 7-00	1 Sweeper at Sonnapur	Rs. 3-00
1 Weigher at Calingapatam	Rs. 7-00	1 Sweeper at Poondy	Rs. 3-00
		1 Sweeper at Barampad	Rs. 3-00
	<u>Rs. 27-00</u>		<u>Rs. 27-00</u>

V. 2. Under the provisions of section 39 (2) (b) of Act XVII of 1891, His Excellency the Governor of Fort St. George in Council was pleased to appoint the Port Officer of Gopalpur to be the Surveyor at Gopalpur for the purpose of approving and certifying the position of discs and every alteration thereof and with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council to fix the fees to be taken in respect of such approval or certificate as contained in the schedule. The following rules were also made by the Government:

"Regulations as to Load-line, Marks, Certificates, Drought of water and Free Board"

The lines to be used in order to indicate the maximum load line under different circumstances and at different seasons shall be nine inches in length and one inch in thickness, and the maximum load-line shall be the upper edge of each of such lines.

2. The said lines shall be horizontal lines marked on both sides of the ship, extending from and at right angles to a vertical line marked 21 inches forward of the centre of the disc. The maximum load-line in freshwater shall be marked abaft such vertical line, and the maximum loadlines in salt water shall be marked forward of such vertical line.

"3. The provision of Act XVII of 1891 shall have effect as if any such maximum load-lines were drawn through the centre of the disc. Such maximum load-lines shall be as follows:

F. W. for fresh water

F. S. for fine seasons

R. S. for rough seasons

P. F. for Passenger fine season

P. R. for Passenger rough season

and shall be distinguished by initial letters permanently and conspicuously marked opposite such horizontal lines as aforesaid. The upper edge of the horizontal line passing through the centre of the disc shall always indicate the rough season freeboard in salt water."

"4. Steam ships shall be marked with such of the horizontal lines as aforesaid as are applicable to the nature of their employment and sailing ships shall be marked with such of the above mentioned lines as indicate the maximum load-line for fresh water and for fine season and rough season. In calculating the position of the lines, the same allowances shall be made for the lines in India as for those in the United Kingdom...."

"5. The said disc and the lines or marks to be used in connection therewith shall be painted white or yellow on a dark ground or black on a light ground, and the position of the disc and of each of the lines shall, in the case of iron and steel vessels, be permanently marked by center punch marks, and shall, in the case of wooden vessels, be sunk for their breadths into the planking a depth of not less than one quarter of an inch."

"6. Application for a certificate of approval of the position of the disc or any alteration thereof shall be made in the form marked L. L.-1. in the schedule hereto, to the Port Officer, and the certificate shall be issued in duplicate in the form marked L. L. 2 or L. L. 3 in the schedule hereto, as the case may be, one part shall be delivered to the applicant, and the other part shall be forthwith sent to the Presidency Port Officer at Madras."

"7. The Master of every British Indian ship required to keep an official log shall, before she leaves any dock, wharf, Port or harbour in British India for the purpose of proceeding to sea, enter in the official log all the particulars stated in the certificate so issued as aforesaid if not previously entered."

"8. For the purpose of these regulations, the expression "Amidships" shall mean the middle of the length of the load waterline as measured from the foreside of the stem to the aft side of the sternpost."

"9. The seasons of fair and foul weather shall be those already fixed under the Native Passenger Ships Act, in Notification No. IV, Calcutta, dated 14th March 1889, No. 1355 and contained in schedule B attached."

"For the purpose of the foregoing regulations, the seasons specified in column 2 below shall, as specified in column 3 be deemed to be "Seasons of fair Weather" and "Seasons of Foul Weather".

Column 1 Coasts	Column 2 Seasons	Column 3 Fair or Foul Weather
(4) Madras (Coromandal)	1st January to 15th April	Fair
	16th April to 31st July	Foul
	1st August to 15th October	Fair
	16th October to 31st December	Foul
(5) Bengal (including Orissa) and Arakan.	1st January to 31st March	Fair
	1st April to 15th August	Foul
	16th August to 30th September	Fair
	1st October to 15th November	Foul
	16th November to 31st December	Fair

SCHEDULE C

"Fees for Survey for certificate of approval of load line 13

	Rs.
For vessels under 300 tons gross	16
For vessels of 300 tons and under 1,000 tons gross	32
For vessels of 1,000 tons and under 2,000 tons gross	48
For vessels of 2,000 tons and under 3,000 tons gross	64
For vessels of 3,000 tons and under 4,000 tons gross	80
For vessels of 4,000 tons and above	96

(Signed) M. Bean, Captain, H. M.'s I. M. Officiating Presidency Port Officer."

VI

VI-1. The Chilka Canal was extended to Gopalpur, the object of which was to connect the Ganjam backwater and Port with the large system of inland water communication which lay to the north. But the trade of the town of Ganjam seemed to have entirely disappeared, and all goods which came down the Chilka Canal for export were transferred to carts when they reached the south of the Ganjam backwater and carried by road to Gopalpur. The complete disappearance of Ganjam as a trading port was by no means clear. On the other hand, General Cotton had mentioned in 1856 the growing preference for Gopalpur as a trading port. In consequence of the tendency, shown by goods to seek shipment at Gopalpur, General Cotton suggested for the construction of a second section of canal to connect the Ganjam and the Gopalpur (or Mansurkotta) backwaters. He observed that such a canal would pass through a singularly favourable natural hollow, occupied then and now by a chain of small fresh water lakes. He raised the question whether the canal should be a tidal one or a fresh water one with locks. In 1882-83 the district of Ganjam was carefully surveyed and examined and a decision arrived at in favour of a tidal canal uniting the two backwaters. In 1884 an estimate amounting to Rs. 4,44,335 was submitted to the Government of India for sanction. But later on, a revised estimate amounting to Rs. 4,51,145 was submitted. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance to the Ganjam district of this short section of canal. Its construction would complete the last link in the long chain of inland water communication to the north of Gopalpur and would allow goods to be brought from great distances, without break of bulk, right up to that port in which when the pier was completed, the trade of the surrounding areas would become more than ever concentrated.¹⁴

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NAVIGATION IN RIVERS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ORISSA

—Rekharani Khuntia

In Orissa water transport consists of inland waterways and coastal shipping. As far as the waterways are concerned, the rivers of Orissa contribute a lot to the development of communication and navigation. In the 19th century these waterways had an important role in inland navigation. During rainy season, generally most of the rivers were navigable, whereas in off monsoon and summer periods, the boats could ply only in big rivers like the Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Baitarani. As a result of inland navigation in these waterways, communication system also developed to a greater extent inside the State. Till the first half of the 20th century rivers of Orissa played an important role in the field of navigation.

The Mahanadi, the biggest river of Orissa, used to handle the bulk of the freight from Chhatisgarh to Cuttack via Sambalpur. The total distance of navigation of the Mahanadi, and its tributaries was about 690 miles. A distance of about 150 miles from Binka situated between Sambalpur and Sonapur to Cuttack, was more or less navigable all the year round, and the rest was navigable for less than half of the year.¹ During the rainy season there was traffic from Chhatisgarh down the Mahanadi. About 200 boats were thus employed. Lower down the Mahanadi river, and the depots for boats were Sambalpur, Binka, Sonapur and Kontilo and Cuttack. In these places number of boats employed is given below :²

TABLE No. 1

Sambalpur	500 boats
Binka	305 boats
Sonapur	200 boats

These boats looked like a long narrow canoe-like shape, expressly constructed for dangerous and intricate navigation. There were several sizes of these boats. These boats ranged from 2 to 7 poul burden, the poul being equal to 50 maunds, something under 2 tons. Because of hidden boulders, the people were forced to use small boats which were light and easier to ply in place of big boat. These were like Chinese boats which could carry 60—100 mounds. The largest boat of such type which T. Motte (a British Merchant who visited Orissa during 18th century) saw was 40 feet in length and 4 feet width.³ During the [monsoon or rainy season, the boats could ply up and down in the river at all times. In the rainy season, the Mahanadi was navigable from Cuttack to Chhatisgarh and only to Binka in the dry season. In Binka and Cuttack sections the channel in dry season was never deep and was much interrupted by shallows. The boats of 2—4 poul size could ply in the dry season.⁴

At the time of monsoon period largest size of boats could ply for navigation. These were carried at a pace of 5 to 6 miles an hour and if the chances were propitious, it was 60 miles or upwards in a day. Thus a boat could, if its voyage was prosperous, convey a cargo of goods from Chhatisgarh to Cuttack in 7 days, or from Sambalpur to Cuttack in 3—5 days, while the journey to Sonapur lasts one day and to Binka six hours.⁵ The duration of the return journey was much longer. Because it was depending upon the depth of water in the river and presence of numerous rocks in its bed. In July and November it took laden boats 21—25 days respectively to reach Sambalpur from Cuttack, five-six days from Sonapur and four-five days respectively from Binka.⁶

L. S. S. O'. Malley mentioned in Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer, Sambalpur that various types of boats were plying in the Mahanadi. They were dangas, kuslis, patwas and chaps, etc.⁷ For details about boats see Appendix A.

Mahandi was navigable throughout the Tributary States and up to Sambalpur by flat bottomed boats of about twenty-five ton burden. It afforded valuable facilities for navigation. But due to numerous sand banks in its channel it creates trouble in navigation. So the boatmen carry rakes and hoes with which they clear a narrow passage just sufficient to let their craft pass, where rocks impede the navigation.⁸

Baideswar in Banki, Padnabati and Kantilo in Khandpara were the three main towns of Tributary States on the bank of the Mahanadi, subsisted by river traffic. The people of these towns were carrying salt, spices, coconuts and brass utensil up to Sambalpur (Central Provinces) and in exchange brought cotton, wheat, oil-seeds, clarified butter, oil, molasses, iron, turmeric, tasar cloth, rice etc. There were also several smaller towns on both sides of the Mahanadi river which were extensive trade centres in timber, bamboos, oil-seeds and many other local produce.⁹

Trade between Sheonarain via Sambalpur and Binkito Cuttack continued on the Mahanadi. Though the export of cotton was the important item in this trade, consumer goods like salt, coconuts and country-cloth were other important commodities of trade. The following table depicts in details.¹⁰

TABLE No. 2

(1)	Exports		Imports	
	Bulk Mds.	Value Rs.	Bulk Md.	Value Rs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Cotton (Seed and Cleaned)	11,888	1,00,138		
Sugar and Gur (Molasses)	452	545	60	81
Salt	..	..	22,135	60,030
Grain	17,572	24,118	812	1,200
Metals	7,699	2,507	1,243	9,560
Cocoanuts		..	30	514
Country cloth	36	499	72	3,739
Miscellaneous	13,266	24,734	1,290	2,063
	Mds. 50,913	Rs. 1,52,541	Mds. 25,642	Rs. 77,187
	(Tons. 1,868)	(£15,254)	(Tons. 941)	(£7,719)

And the most important feature in trade through the rivers was that it was comparatively cheaper than that on the land-routes. On land-routes, the land carriage by carts did cost $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 annas per ton per mile and 4 or 5 annas per mile by pack-bullocks. But on the other hand, by the water-route it was about 1 anna * per ton per mile.

From Raipur, a ton of goods may go to Nagpur by carts, a distance of 200 miles, by carts for 37½ rupees or £31 5s; to Jabalpur by pack-bullocks, a distance of 220 miles for about 68 rupees, or £6 16s; to Mirzapore by pack-bullocks, a distance of 300 miles, for about 95 rupees, or £9 10s; to Sambalpur, a distance of 170 miles by pack-bullocks, for 53 rupees or £5 6s; to Ganjam by pack-bullocks, a distance of 330 miles, for 103 rupees, or £10 6s; while from the same country a turn of goods may go, by the water-route, for about 1 anna per ton per mile.¹¹ The following table is given below ;

*This rate has been obtained as follows—A trip from Arung or Doorg to Cuttack and back will occupy about three months, the boats bringing little or no cargo on their return. The distance may be taken as about 400 miles. For this trip each boat man receives a sum of rupees 8, besides one anna per diem for subsistence. Now a seven powlah boat, conveying about nine tons, will require 12 men to navigate it, at a total cost for the trip of 192 rupees. This will give about 7 annas 8 pies per mile for conveying 9 tons or about 10 pies per ton per mile to which something must be added for contingencies, raising the rate to about one anna per ton per mile. This is a moderate and perhaps somewhat low rate," (Temple 1863 : 50).

TABLE No. 3

Sabmalpur to Cuttack	200 Miles for 12 Rs. 8 As. or £1 5 s. od.
Sheonarain to Cuttack	350 „ for 21 Rs. 14 " or £2 3s. 9d.
Arung to Cuttack	400 „ for 25 Rs. 0 " or £21 os. od.
Doorg to Cuttack	450 „ for 28 Rs. 2 " or £216 s. 3d.

Collection of revenue from the passenger traffic increased due to navigation. This route at that time became important for the pilgrims to Jagannath. According to Colonel Rundall, the Chief Engineer of the East India Irrigation Company at Cuttack,¹² "The traveller from Juggernaut crossing the river at Cuttack, are numbered at (3,000) three thousand a day at some seasons. Even if only some hundreds of these availed themselves of the water route, the return from third class passenger traffic alone would be very considerable".

The Mahanadi and the Kanthajori, two big rivers surrounding Cuttack, necessitated the development of communication by water. Many historical records and geographical and topographical facts clearly indicated that communication by water formed an important link between Cuttack and the rest of the province as well as the country. The various ghats and the history and the legend attached to them had given ample evidences as to the full use of river water Communication.¹³

From Sambalpur to Cuttack boats generally came down the Mahanadi (Maddox, 1900). But the situation was different in rainy-season or at flood times. During the flood a float from Sambalpur to Cuttack was taking about 5 days, as against 21—25 days in dry season. The Mahanadi was navigable up to Kothiasahi, opposite 45th mile of the Taladanda canal, at all seasons for the largest cargo-boats carrying 1,750 maunds and drawing 3 feet of water. At high tide similar boat could go up to Taladanda opposite 43½ mile of the canal.¹⁴ In March 1904, George Harcourt, Commissioner for affairs of Cuttack wrote to the British Resident at Nagapur :¹⁵

"By the possession of Sonepur and Baud, we hold all the navigable part of the Mahanadi river, and the cotton goods in Chhatisgher will find its way readily to Cuttack".

V. C. Mehta in his report of 1956 mentioned that the crude crafts (the handiwork of traditional-inheriting boats men) reached Cuttack at the end of hazardous journey along the Mahanadi. The heavy timber trade depended on this traditional transport.¹⁶

In spite of rocks and rapids and many dangers, riverine trade flourished in the Mahanadi, before the construction of the Bengal-Nagapur railway, the Mahanadi was principal outlet for carrying away the produce of the district in boats to Cuttack, and salt, cloth and other commodities were being brought back in exchange.

The Brahmani, the Baitarani and the Budhabalanga were other important waterways to handle traffic.¹⁷ The Brahmani was navigable in tributary states for a few months as far up as four miles below Talcher.¹⁸ On the banks Brahmani important villages are Baulpur and Bhuvan in the State of Dhenkanal where river traffic in resin, lac, oil-seeds etc., took place.

The Baitarani river rises in the State of Keonjhar and forms the boundary between that State and Mayurbhanj for forty miles. It was navigable as far as Anandapur. A considerable amount of trade was being carried at Anandapur. The rural and forest produce brought by land from the south west being bartered for salt, carried by boats from the coast.¹⁹

The Subarnarekha was also navigable by country crafts as high as Kalikapur, about sixteen miles from the mouth to which point the tide also runs. Rice boats of two tons burden could make their way up to the boundary of Balasore district and during rainy season far into Mayurbhanj.²⁰

In Budhabalanga river tides came at 8 feet. For that reason ships were safely coming to the dock. During spring tide water rose very high for which heavy ships loaded with even hundred tons of goods could easily ply in this river. ²¹ This river was also tidal and navigable ordinarily up to the town of Balasore and in the rains a little further and was also navigable throughout the year up to Choorakhia about 6 miles above Sulpatta. ²² Generally Brigs, Sloops and sea-going steamers could easily navigate in Badhabalanga as far as Balasore town. ²³

The Tel, biggest tributary of the Mahanadi, was navigable from Patna, while timbers were floated down the Kalahandi during the monsoon. For several months in the year it was quite navigable by country boats. ²⁴

The Matai river was another good navigable channel which fall into the Dhamra some 15 miles below the junction of the Baitarani with the latter. The river was fed from two drainage channels or Khals, Kanchari and Garamat about 6 miles above Charbatia Lock on Range V, Orissa Coast Canal. Hence communication facilities were thus established between the coast canal and Chandbali and also with Cuttack. The Matai was connected with Gomai by a cut known as the Rickets canal, made years ago to allow salt boats to pass between the two Khals. ²⁵

The Salandi was navigable up to Bhadrak. The Panchapada was tidal and navigable throughout the year as far as Charakhai. It is deep enough at certain parts of its course that boats of four tons burden could ply all the year round. ²⁶ the Saratha was navigable up to the coast canal ²⁷. The Subarnarekha was tidal and navigable up to Kamarda about 4 miles above Jamconda ²⁸. The rivers like the Kuakhai, the Kusbhadra, the Bhargavi and the Daya were navigable by large boats during the rainy season. None of them was deep enough for plying boats of 100 maunds or say four tons burden, throughout the whole year. ²⁹.

The Rushikulya and the Vamsadhara rivers were not navigable. But wood crafts were being floated down in those rivers. The Rushikulay was navigable as far as Aska and the Vamsadhara was up to Battili during the rains. ³⁰.

Conclusion

The river Mahanadi was the only outlet for the trade of the Sambalpur district. It was one of the uninterrupted communication link between Cuttack and Sambalpur. The Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Baitarani rivers had sufficient water to enable boats to pass and repass further down their course and there was a fair amount of traffic in the lower tidal reaches. ³¹

In course of time, navigation through rivers of Orissa recived a setback due to the development of communication system like roads. In roads passengers and perishable goods were easily transported to their places. It was cheaper than the water transport. The river-borne trade started to decline with the opening of railway on the whole, it was difficult on the part of water transport to compete with the railway and roadways. However, in goods trafic, the rivers of Orissa played an important role in the 19th Century.

APPENDIX A

The boats mostly used are Dangas, Kuslis, Patwas and Chaps. Dangas are merely dug-outs which are sometimes used for passenger traffic down to Cuttack. The other vessels are larger boats poled along by the boatmen and steered by a paddle tied to the stern, which is merely a long pole with a round piece of wood at the end. Patwas are long, narrow boats made of sal or bija plants fastened together with iron nails. They run to a length of 75 to 90 feet and are used for the conveyance of grain up to the middle of December. They are poled, according to their size, by six, seven or eight men, and cost Rs. 250 to Rs. 450. Boats of this kind hold from 150 to 200 maunds of grain. Chaps are merely Patwas lashed together for the conveyance of cattle and carts and are only used in flood time. Kuslis are similar in build to Patwas but broader, and are 45 to 60 feet long. A Kusli manned by three men usually holds 40 to 50 maunds of grain and one poled by four men, 60 maunds. The cost is Rs. 130 and Rs. 175 respectively, while the largest Kusli, which is manned by five men, costs Rs. 200. They ply in mid-stream on the Mahanadi for passenger traffic, up to the end of March, but for the conveyance of grain, up to the middle of February only. About this time the river runs low, and owing to the small depth of water and the rock, they are steered with considerable difficulty.

When a Kusli, manned by four men is engaged by a merchant, he has to pay the wages of six men the extra wages being made over to the owner. The rates are to, Dhama Rs. 2, to Binka and Turum, Rs. 3, to Sonapur, Rs. 4, to Baud Rs. 5, to Cuttack Rs. 12 per boatman. Each boatman receives for the journey up and down stream $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers of rice and 1 pice daily, and the man who hires the boat has to pay any extra money spent in extricating it from the sand and rocks. The steersmen get 8 annas each extra per stage. They are pilots who know the rocks and currents in their particular length of river and do not go beyond it. The Sambalpur Steersmen go up to Baghra and down to Dhama.

Source—L. S. S. O. Malley, Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur, Patna 1932, pp. 187-188.

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PORTS OF BALASORE DURING THE BRITISH PERIOD

Ganeswar Nayak

Historically and culturally the Bay of Bengal is closely associated with Orissa. Its location at the vortex of the ocean is unique. Orissa became a focal centre of inter continental trade and commercial route cutting across the ocean. In early days navigation routes connecting the ports of the littoral States were possible. Later navigators were able to find direct route as well, from West Indian Coast to the African Coast. As controller of Indian Ocean Trade in the early times, Orissa became a fertile centre of empire building activity by European powers. It must be emphasised that trade, commerce and the settlement among the people of littoral States started much before the advent of the European power on the scene. However, this maritime trade could not continue to exist due to recession of sea water.

The wealth and opulence of the province allured the Englishmen to set up factories at Hariharpur in Jagatsinghpur district. The English were eager to trade in Bengal but were cautious enough to avoid entanglements in the politics of Bengal *subha*. As Hunter has remarked "True to our natural Character we settled in Orissa as merchant long before we made our appearance as rulers". One of the earliest British factories in India established at Hariharpur in Orissa was in 1633. Subsequently, other factories were established at Balasore on the river Burabalong and Pipili on river Subarnarekha. "These two ports formed the basis of our future greatness in Bengal".¹ The British factory at Balasore developed into a thriving centre of maritime trade. In 1670 among several factories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Balasore was the seat of their chief and his council.² The pre-eminence of Balasore as a Commercial centre continued for a long time.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Balasore, Churaman, Dhamra, were used by *stoops* and vessels carrying rice and sale.³ The record of 1810, refers to port of Balasore. Vessels coming from Laccadive, Maldiva, Islands, which brought coirs, coconuts and cowries and took back rice and earthen pots.⁴ As a result of which a custom House for the collection of duties in Orissa under regulation of 1810 were established in Balasore. The regulation also stipulated the rates of duty to be levied in different articles and enlisted which were to be exempted from the payment of such duties. The goods which paid the duty once were not liable to payment of such duty. Of course, the Rowanahas on free passes were to remain in force for one year only.⁵ A Collector of custom was also appointed to be solely in charge of this house.

Apart from the Central Custom House at Balasore, 8 Custom *Chowkeys* were established at different places in the district. They stretched from river Subarnarekha in the north to river Dhamra in the South.⁶ These were Baliapal,, Rajghat, Remuna, Balaramgadi, Bangraah, Fulwar, Churaman and Dhamra. The establishment of Central Custom House at Balasore was mainly due to the fact that Government wanted to regulate the administration of Balasore port, which happens to be the main port of trade in the whole of Orissa. Even though there existed many smaller ports from Dhamra to Chilika Lake, the Government established *Chowkeyes* in Balasore only with the hope of getting more revenue from Customs.

In the year 1821, the Government made further amendment to improve the working efficiency of Orissan ports. Further it was said that the persons passing beyond the range of the *chowkey* and not entering the town of Balasore were permitted to carry any goods not exceeding the value of Rs. 10 without paying Custom duty.⁷

The port Commissioner of revenue and circuit was created in 1829.⁸ It provided that the Custom officer should make all correspondence in relation to Custom with the Commissioner of Revenue and circuit. Again the new provision of 1829 empowered the Commissioner to appointment and dismiss all uncovenanted officers of the Custom Department. The Board of Custom, Salt and Opium was maintained to supervise and control the Commissioner.

In 1846, the Government of Bengal imposed the Buoyage duty. This duty was to be levied on all vessels laden with cargo visiting to all parts of Balasore.⁹ This was called Bouyage duty, because Buoys were placed as signals on the mouth of the river to facilitate the Captains for easy entrance to the port. The rate of Buoyage duty was fixed at Rs. 8 each on a vessel carrying less than 2,600 mounds of load, Rs. 10 each on a vessel with cargo above 5,000 mounds.¹⁰

In 1855, the Government of India passed a new Custom Act to regulate the ports and ports dues.¹¹ The size of the port and the volume of trade was not taken into consideration. So the Commissioner of Orissa raised the voice against the Act. He said that the Act should not be applicable to smaller ports like Dhamra. Mr. White further stated that no facilities were extended to smaller ports by the Government. Thus exaction of Buoyage duty was nothing but tax for only loading and unloading of cargo in those smaller ports. Taking all these factors into consideration the Commissioner of Cuttack suggested to limit the new Act of 1855 only to Balasore Port. These suggestions were taken into consideration by the Government of India.¹²

In 1858, a Comprehensive plan was prepared by the Government of India for the regulation of Orissan Ports.¹³ Balasore has a coast line of 58 miles. The new Act of 1858 declared all the ports Balasore, Cauramon, Chhanua, Saratha, Subarnarekha and Dhamra as a single port; that was Balesore port.¹⁴ The port dues were to be collected at the rate of 6 annas for every 100 mounds of cargo of any description. Amount of port dues received, as per new rate, was required to be credited to a common fund, called Balasore Port fund.

Geographical Location of ports

Chandbali—The Chandibali Port was established in 1872.¹⁵ The credit of the foundation, so to speak, of Chandbali was due to Captain Mat Neil, who first discovered its adaptibility for the passenger traffic. The Baitarani was within the limit of the Dhamra port, although situated at considerable distance from the sea coast. The Channel of Dhamra and Baitarani, as far as Chandbali, was completely marked out with buoys and beacons, with moving buoys in the mid-channel at Chandbali. The port was situated on a high but narrow sand bridge which trends from the north to the south in a direction parallel to the sea coast for a distance of many miles and terminated on the northern bank of the river.

Dhamra—The river Dhamra discharge United water of Matei Baitarani, Brahmani and Kharasuan rivers. The Dhamra port included the navigable channels of all the rivers as far as they were affected by the tidal waters.¹⁷ The survey reports of 1870, placed first among navigable rivers of Orissa. The entrance to the port was marked by the Kanika buoy in Twenty-one feet and by short. Tripad beacon in the extreme north-east dry portion of the palmyras reef.

Subarnarekha

The port of Subarnarekha consisted of a demarcated portion of Subarnarekha river.¹⁸ It was situated 12 miles from the sea by the water route. In early times it was by far most important port in the Orissan Coast. A colony was established here by the Portuguese in the beginning of the 16th century A. D.

Saratha and Chhanua

Saratha and Chhanua Port situated fifteen miles from south-east of Subarnarekha river.¹⁹ The Saratha and Chhanua river were frequented by native river sloops, the former was navigable as far as Mahadavi, 9 miles from the sea measuring a direct line. There was much difficulty in landing of sloops due to soft muddy banks.

Balasore

The most important Port in Balasore district was Bilasore Port, it is consisted of portion of Burabalanga river fronting the town of Balasore. The port was about three-quarters of a mile in length. It was situated seven miles from the coast in direct line.²⁰

Ships from the Madras, coast from the Ceylon, Laccadive and Maldiv Islands annually resorted to Balasore Port in large number for rice trade. The Laccadive and Maldiv Islanders depended principally upon the Balasore district for their annual supply of grain ²¹. Ships of a larger size anchor at the Buoy, and were loaded from cargo boats.

Laichanpur and Churaman

The port of Laichanpur was situated twenty-three miles from the south of Burabalang river But the port of Churaman was five miles south of Laichanpur These two ports are branches of Kansbans, which bifurcated at Birupa, seven miles from the least. The northern Branch, on which the port of Laichanpur was situated, keeps the name of Kansbans, the Southern on which Churaman situated called Gammal. The Balasore Collector of Customs in 1820, wrote that "Churaman is considered the safe and convenient port on the coast of Orissa, and carries on a sea going trade exceeding that of Balasore" ²².

After the famine of 1866, the Famine Commission made specific recommendation for the development of ports in Orissa ²³ for communication purposes. Another factor which gave impetus for the postal department was Department of Inland navigation. Finding the Krisle activities in these ports Lt. Governor, who visited Orissa in November, 1874 sanctioned the following sum of money for the development of following ports ²⁴:—

Sum granted in November 1874 for the Development of ports

Balasore 30,000

() Dhamra and Chandbali 1,00,000

By the end of the 19th Century Chandbali emerged as the principal port of Orissa. It was an inland port connected with Bay of Bengal. There was steady development of port and the steamers were regularly running to and fro from Calcutta. In 1896, a regular steamer service was maintained between Calcutta and Chandbali. The Indian General system Navigation company and the Orissa Steam Navigation Company had been plying every week between Calcutta and Chandbali, carrying passenger and cargo.

The opening of Railway in 1896 was a potent factor for the decline of maritime trade in Orissa. Because maritime trade was diverted to railways. It went on reducing with the spread and success of railway network in the country. The railways competed ruthlessly with the natural and cheap facility of water transport. The British Government was interested in the financial success of railways, which could have been done at the cost of other means of transport. So, after development of railway in Orissa, maritime trade came to an end.

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MARITIME TRADE OF BRITISH ORISSA, 1866—1947

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The aim of this paper is to build up a profile of the maritime trade of British Orissa from 1866 to 1947. The main concern of this paper is not only to examine developments and decline of maritime trade but also its impact on the lives of the people of Orissa. The period covered begins with the Orissa Famine of 1866 and ends with attainment of India's Independence in 1947. The work is based on study of a fairly good number of original sources available in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.

Maritime Trade of Orissa prior to 1866

Ancient and medieval Orissa played a leading role in the overseas trade of India. They had maritime commerce with oversea colonies in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Malayan Peninsula, Annam, Cochin, China, Cambodia, East Indies and the islands of the Pacific. As remarked by Dr. Radhakumud Mukharjee in his 'Indian Shipping', the central position of Orissa in the eastern coast of India had given her commercial and maritime enterprise. By the middle of the 16th century A.D. maritime trade of Orissa had dwindled due to natural causes. The freaks of nature, treacherous currents, the silting of the sands at the river mouths and loss of spirit of adventure of the people were some among them. Sea-faring vessels were no longer plying.

From the year 1568 A.D., Orissa suffered from the political rule of the Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and then British through successive ages. The political subjugation became a formidable barrier to the revival of the sea trade of the merchants of Orissa. In the 17th century Orissa's sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the European merchants as they enjoyed the patronage of the Muslim rulers.

Cottage industries were the important occupations of the people till they were swamped off early during the 19th century. The weavers in Orissa were noted for their skill and efficiency. The Muslims of Orissa were very much prized in Europe. Salt enjoyed considerable pre-eminence in the pre-British period. Among the places where the best filigree work was done, Cuttack occupied from the ancient times as the important place.

The industrial and agricultural products of Orissa which had a steady market all-round attracted the attention of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Dutch and British merchants. They opened factories in Balasore and other places in coastal Orissa. In the 17th century, Balasore, Hariharpur and Pipili were the main gateways of Orissa's maritime trade. The British factory at Balasore developed into a thriving centre of maritime trade. The silting of the beds of the rivers in which vessels anchored injuriously affected the trade facilities in the Hariharpur and Pipili ports. Hence, the pre-eminence of the port of Balasore as a centre of maritime trade continued for a long time till the British shifted their centre of activity to Hugli.

At the commencement of the 19th century, Balasore was the only port of which Orissa could boast and it was frequently visited chiefly by vessels from Calcutta and Madras which put in cargo and rice and by the Laccadive and Maldive Islanders from which the cowries then used extensively for currency were obtained. Another port of importance was Gopalpur port in the Ganjam district. The interest of British trade and industry led to the discovery and opening of ports like Dhamrah, Churamanni, Chhana, Sartha, Subarnarekha and Lochampur in Balasore district and Puri, Davee Sahandhu, Metta Cooach, Futtajpore and Nuola in the Puri district.

All the ports that were there were of little use when exposed to the ordeal of bad weather or any emergency. Even then they were largely used by the foreign and Indian merchants to carry on export and import trade. The maximum volume of trade passed through the principal ports at Balasore and Gopalpur. The main articles of export were rice and paddy. The quantity exported depended on the state of crops in Orissa and the demand for it in the neighbouring provinces.

Gradually the decline was perceptible in the export of cotton goods. Large quantities of cloth were being imported from Europe and sold at cheaper rate in the market. The people generally preferred cheap foreign goods to costly indigenous products. Andrew Stirling wrote in 1825: "The manufactures and trade of Orissa proper are very inconsiderable and unimportant. A sufficiency of the coarser clothes is made for the use of the inhabitants in all parts of the district. The Calicoes of Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Janjipur (Jajpur) and Hariharpur, were once much prized and sought after under the name of Sannahs, but the demand for the finer fabrics of that description have long since greatly declined, the quantity now manufactured is very trifling".¹

Ports of Orissa on the eve of the Famine of 1866

False Point was the most important of the Orissan Ports in 1866. The Famine Commission of 1866 considered it to be the best harbours on the whole coast of India between Hugli and Bombay. It was situated at the mouth of the river Mahanadi, at a distance of 70 miles from the town of Cuttack. The port had been discovered and opened in 1860 and it was expected to provide protected anchorage. An agency had been established there for the export of rice. But there was no means of disembarking the cargo and passengers at the anchorage. There was also no good communication between the port and the interior of the country.

Balasore Port was situated on the river Burabalinga. In the 17th century it was seat of considerable trade. Eventually it became much less useful by the formation of sand across mouth of the river. Puri Port was nominally a port, because it was very shallow and steamers could not approach it within a distance of some miles.²

In 1866 Orissa did not contain a single harbour capable of sheltering ship of any size. No port offered a secure anchorage during the monsoon. In the same season steamers could not land cargoes on its surf-beaten shore except in such small quantities as surf boats could carry. Great difficulty was experienced in loading and unloading ships and steamers.

In spite of the absence of good harbour, the export trade of Orissa was considerable and averaged 20,000 tonnes of rice a year during the six years preceding 1865. The price of rice had generally remained cheap as compared with most other provinces. Though the people themselves had not undertaken any large mercantile operations, their surplus grain had been sought by others for this reason. The surplus from the crop of 1864 had been carried off "by the energetic Telingah, Koomtees of Madras territory who have scoured the country to buy up the grain and an enterprising french house (Messrs Robert Cherriol and Company) who have exported largely by way of false point". The quantity exported was unusually large, viz. 33,000 tonnes of which Balasore alone sent away 26,000 tonnes. Despite the general panic in 1865-66, 70,727 mounds had been exported from the province by the end of October 1866. The unusual brisk exportation depleted the stocks of a considerable extent and contributed to Orissa Famine of 1866.

Adhering strictly to the policy of *laissez-faire*, the British authorities did not import rice well in time to meet the needs of the famine-stricken people. When the famine reached gigantic proportion and starvation became more and more general in June 1866. They had no other option but to order the immediate importation of rice into Orissa. But the importation was very much obstructed due to the outburst of monsoon on the Orissa coast with terrific violence. Not much rice could be shipped there as there was no good harbours on the Orissa coast. Another difficulty was, when the ships had brought rice to the coast, to get it unloaded and carry up to the interior. It was not till September that any sufficient quantity of rice had reached the centres of demand. June, July and August were the months in which famine was intensely felt.⁴ It left one million people of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts dead. The timely importation of grain would have been of real avail in averting the horrors of the famine.

Ports of Orissa in the Post-Famine period

Owing to the change in the course of river, shifting of the sea and silting of the river mouths some of the ports had ceased to exist while the position of others had been changed. The ports that existed were not very useful from the commercial point of view. In 1873, John Beams, the Collector of Balasore observed: "A stranger coming by sea to Balasore on seeing our harbour would think he had arrived at the dominions of some independent native chief who did not know what were the requirements of the civilized countries in respect of port accommodation. He would be subject to the greatest maritime power, the world has ever seen".⁵

The famine commission of 1866 dwelt on the necessity of improvement of communication both by land and sea with a view to preventing the recurrence of a similar disaster. It pressed the necessity of improvement of the ports of Orissa so as to accommodate ocean-going vessels. It drew the attention of the Government to the existing defects of the ports and suggested for their development.

The false point was the only port which received some attention of the Government after the famine. It was surveyed and deepened and the channels were buoyed. Although Government effected some improvement of False Point, the plan was abandoned subsequently.

As late as 1866, the False Point at the mouth of the river Mahanadi was largely used. But unfortunately, the sea receded there towards the east. In rough weather, steamers could not go near False Point. They had to anchor at a very considerable distance as it was impossible for the steamers to load and unload their contents there. Owing to difficulties of loading a major portion of trade of this port was diverted towards Chandbali and Coast Canal. S. L. Maddox stated that for all practical and commercial purposes, the port lost much of its utility by the end of the 19th century.⁶

No permanent improvement of the port of Balasore was undertaken. Nothing concrete was done to develop this port as it involved great engineering difficulties and large outlay. The Government spent a very small sum in buoying channels and dredging sand bars. The opening of the Coast Canal to traffic in 1887 not only further facilitated the silting of Balasore Port at the mouth of the Burabaling river but also diverted large portion of the sea-borne trade of the district through it.⁷

Puri Port continued to be a mere open roadstead. It was not safe for vessels during the south-west monsoon. The Government did not bother seriously about its development as it involved huge cost. It could never serve the commercial purpose which a port was naturally meant to do.

The establishment of Chandbali Port in Balasore district in 1870 is noteworthy. This was due to the enterprise of Captain Macneil, who sailed up the Dhamra together with T. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Orissa, with an intention of discovering a suitable site. Chandbali which was then a small village occupied by a few fishermen's huts, was found to combine the advantage of high position free from all risks of inundation, and sufficient depth of water in immediate proximity to the river bank. Captain Macneil immediately obtained a lease of a small area of land by arrangement with a Zamindar. Eventually, Government recognising the advantage of the site, acquired an area of 179 acres which formed the Chandbali Port. Chandbali Port lay on the north bank of the Baitarani river some 8 miles west of its confluence with the Brahmani and 20 miles from the mouth. It was connected with the interior by the river Matai, the Bhadiak road, and various tidal creeks.⁸

Gopalpur was the chief port of Ganjam district. The port of Gopalpur was nothing more than an open roadstead similar to other ports on the eastern coast of Madras presidency. During the months of April, May and October more especially, the surf was frequently so high that the communication between the shipping and the shore was interrupted for days together. The formidable looking waves at Gopalpur were considered more dangerous to boats shipping cargo.

Another important port of the Ganjam district was the Ganjam Port, which was about 13 miles north-eastwards of Gopalpur. It used to lie on the Rushikulya river but in consequence of the river gradually shifting, the limits of the port had been changed from time to time. The ships usually "anchored in the roads abreast of the fort in eight or nine fathoms, about two miles from the shore". Regarding the port of Ganjam, T. J. Maltby wrote: "Once this was the chief port of the district, now it is a rare thing for a ship to come there, and it is difficult to understand why it has been so thrown into the shade by Gopalpur, unless it be that the latter has had the advantage of British enterprise to bring it forward. Over Gopalpur, Ganjam has the advantages that boats can be loaded in quiet water at the custom-house, and that they can be of greater capacity than boats that have to be dragged up out of the surf when loaded. It is said that the anchorage is not so good, and that there is generally more sea, but with larger boats one would suppose that the sea would not matter, and for anchorage Gopalpur itself is not very good".⁹

In the beginning of the 20th century, the necessity of good ports of Orissa, where sea-going vessels could safely anchor, load and unload, was keenly felt. It was proposed that a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighbourhood of it should be established. In 1913 Madhusudan Das urged as follows in the Imperial Legislative Council:

"Orissa exports a large quantity of rice. A good of it is exported to Ceylon, and a large portion also to Mauritius. Mauritius sends sugar in return to Orissa. At present all these things which are used for export and import have to come to Calcutta, and they have to be rebooked either by steamer to Chandbali or by railway to different parts of the province. There is a large export trade in hides. These hides are exported to Europe and to foreign countries. At present they go by Chandbali to Calcutta or railway to Calcutta and they are re-shipped by sea-going vessels to foreign countries..... The route to Calcutta, besides being circuitous, is expensive on two grounds: (1) because the Hughly river being what it is there is the cost of the pilot; (2) sailing vessels cannot come, so they have to be towed by steamers, and that means additional expenditure. If there were a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighbourhood of it, where vessels could safely anchor, and load and unload, there would be a great saving."

He further urged that the railway lines with the Chandbali port should be opened to facilitate the sea-borne trade. He said:

"Chandbali exported things to the value of about 34 lakhs, and imported about 29 lakhs, and the passengers traffic was about 80,000. Of course it should be taken into consideration that Chandbali is not connected by railway or any other means of communication, not even by decent roads, with the interior of the country; and therefore my resolution is that, if a railway line be constructed connecting Bhadrak with Chandbali or any other place where a suitable site could be had for use as a port, the country will be opened up, commerce will benefit and the public will be benefited by it."¹⁰

Many emphasized the need for construction of a harbour in the Chilka lake for the following reasons. Firstly, not many years before the people in Chilka were used to manufacture salt in abundance and they exported the surplus and made enormous profit. Secondly, since time immemorial, Chilka lake had been the one of the greatest fish-supplying centres in India. 76,374 maunds of fish were exported from Orissa during 1936-37, 68,061 maunds in 1937-38 and 71,660 maunds in 1938-39. The Chilka lake continued to contribute the main part of the export. Chilka alone contributed seventy thousand maunds in 1939 out of the total of 71,660 maunds. Calcutta was the greatest market where Orissa's fresh and cured fish were being dumped in abundance. Hence, they urged that Government should not discard it without instituting a thorough investigation into the matter.¹¹

With a view of developing trade facilities of the province, the proposal to establish a port at Balasore was taken in hand. It has hailed with delight. The marine survey of the Burabalang river and its approaches was also completed.¹² But consequent upon the outbreak of the Second World War and the resignation of the first Congress Ministry, it was abandoned.

The development of the ports of Orissa did not receive necessary attention of the British authorities for the following reasons. Firstly, the famines in Bengal Presidency and Madras Presidency and consequent financial difficulties prevented them from allotting required funds to port improvement. Secondly, the opening of Orissa coasts canal in 1880s and railways in 1890s provided better facilities of communication and transport. Besides, the absence of the industrial and commercial enterprises of the Oriyas might have been a subsidiary factor for which the Government remained indifferent to the development of ports to make them "independent and profit yielding".

The only ports that were really used for the purpose of exportation and importation after 1900 were ports of Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur. But they were maintained at a loss. The ports of Balasore and Chandbali had become worst within the last few years, as the rivers Burabalang and Baitarani had silted up. Balasore port was not in demand after opening of the railways.¹³ After 1905, nearly all of the trade were focussed at Chandbali and Gopalpur. The ports which traded with Chandbali were Calcutta, the coasts port from Bombay on the west to Arakan on the east and foreign ports such as the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon and occasionally Mauritius. The ports which traded with Gopalpur were Madras and Rangoon.

Export and Import Trade

The opening of Port of False Point in 1860 and Chandbali Port in 1870 together with the improved means of communication gave impetus to the maritime trade after 1866. From the ports of Orissa like False Point, Chandbali, Puri and Gopalpur, steamers and sailing vessels plied to the coast of Burma, Madras and Bengal as well as to Ceylon, the Laccadive and Maldiv Islands and Mauritius. Plenty of rice was exported to Madras Port, Ceylon, Maldiv Islands and Mauritius. The imports were chiefly made from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Ports.¹⁴

The canal system was developed in Orissa after 1866. By 1898, there were 205 miles of canals available both for irrigation and navigation. These canals were very useful in carrying on export trade. The coast canal which connected the Hughli at Gopakhal with the river Matai at Charabatia was largely used by the merchants for the exportation of rice through the ports of False Point, Chandbali and Calcutta. The Kendrapara and Gobri extension canals connected Cuttack with the Brahmani at Alba, and from there boats went down the river to Chandbali, where Cargo was transhipped and carried by steamers to Calcutta. The Taldanda Canal between the Mahanadi and Kathjuri rivers connected Cuttack with False Point, from which rice was shipped chiefly to the Mauritius. The high level canal supplied a direct route between the marts of Cuttack and Bhadrak.¹⁵

American, British and French ships visited five important ports i, e., False Point, Puri, Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur at regular intervals. The vessels of British India Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., the Scindia Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., and the Asiatic Navigation and Co. Ltd., were engaged in carrying on export and import trade with these ports. The vessels of the first two companies had regular services between Gopalpur and Rangoon for cargo and passengers. A regular service for carrying cargos and passengers was kept up, between Chandbali and Calcutta by the Bengal and Orissa Steamship Company and the Chandbali Steamship Service Company.¹⁶

A considerable quantity of grain exported came from the Garhjats and several traders from Balasore visited princely States of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj and purchased the crops upon the fields. At Chandbali also, it was a common practice for the exporters to send out agents among the villages, who purchased the crops before they were reaped by making advances to the cultivators. Rice was shipped overseas to Ceylon and Mauritius and sugar was obtained from the latter island by merchants who kept up a connection with Mohamadan traders controlling the sugar industry there. But with these exceptions trade, both import and export, was carried on chiefly with Calcutta and Madras.¹⁷

As regards the ports of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore district (North Orissa) the largest imports were salt, spices, cotton goods and kerosene oil and the principal exports were oil-seeds, hide and rice which in favourable seasons was despatched in enormous quantities. The following table shows the growth of sea-borne trade from 1868-69 to 1886-87.¹⁸

Year	Value of Imports in Rs.	Value of Exports in Rs.
1868-69	3,69,468	2,69,545
1869-70	7,15,632	7,77,034
1870-71	13,56,087	13,36,755
1871-72	15,88,000	12,11,411
1872-73	11,74,994	14,16,170
1873-74	28,91,288	30,07,175
1874-75	35,92,857	43,91,035
1875-76	34,73,774	32,70,714
1876-77	47,25,117	76,61,260
1877-78	90,55,184	101,01,291
1878-79	56,40,938	81,48,501
1881-82	66,99,026	68,42,784
1882-83	54,96,242	74,04,748
1883-84	74,95,108	85,87,718
1884-85	91,15,021	96,53,531
1885-86	88,14,173	92,06,142
1886-87	76,19,599	76,31,225

From the year 1887 the maritime trade of North Orissa showed a tendency towards decline. The coast canal absorbed a large portion of the external trade of North Orissa by providing a new waterway. With the abandonment of salt manufacture in Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts the exports received further setback. After the construction of the railways during the closing years of the 19th century, the major portion of the external trade of North Orissa was carried on through the railways.

There was a rapid decline in the value of trade at all the parts of North Orissa after 1887 as the figures in the following table reveals.¹⁹

Year	Value of Imports in Rs.	Value of Exports in Rs.
1887-88	72,44,347	68,01,237
1888-89	58,82,047	54,46,839
1900-1901	41,61,364	43,37,101
1901-1902	39,72,039	42,35,809
1902-1903	37,78,550	46,60,757
1903-1904	28,94,052	53,81,461
1904-1905	27,70,767	63,33,985

The maritime trade of South Orissa was practically handled by the Gopalpur port. The decline was invariably noticed both in the value of imports and exports at the Gopalpur port after 1900. It was due to the competition of railway companies which offered special low rates for transport of goods by rail. The principal articles of export from Gopalpur were rice, paddy, fish, hide and skin, horns, oilseeds, salwood and sleepers. The principal imports were cotton twist, piece goods, gunny bags and kerosene oil.²⁰

The railways monopolised the export and import trade of Orissa after 1900. After 1930, imports and exports were practically confined to the coasting trade between Calcutta and Chandbali, and between Madras and Gopalpur. There was considerable decline of maritime trade of Orissa as revealed from the following table.²²

	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<i>Chandbali</i>					
Imports	8,45,907	9,98,495	13,86,870	9,51,743	8,60,905
Exports	3,87,168	11,51,052	12,40,515	12,40,515	13,11,697
<i>Puri</i>					
Imports	..	..	..	10,000	..
Exports	26,914	58,135	5,80,751	—	6,21,971
<i>Gopalpur</i>					
Imports	7,25,634	8,05,717	4,94,287	4,31,629	2,53,037
Exports	41,367	3,83,042	3,62,680	2,35,770	1,60,770

By the end of the British rule, the sea-borne trade of Orissa had become a thing of the past. All the ports of Orissa recorded appreciable fall in the sea-borne trade. False Point had neither foreign trade nor coasting trade. Balasore and Puri ports had no importance after the opening of railways. Chandbali and Gopalpur were the only ports which were frequented by vessels and steamers from outside. Owing to the silting of the $\frac{1}{2}$ Baitarni river near the port, Chandbali port was not a place where sea-going vessels would go and was used by small steamers which plied between that port and Calcutta.²²

Impact of Maritime Trade on Orissa's Economy

Maritime trade of Orissa under the British rule adversely affected the economy of Orissa. It proved to be more harmful than helpful. It contributed to the impoverishment of peasants and artisan classes. It was one of the major causes of the famines and scarcities that occurred during the British rule.

In course of time markets of Orissa were flooded with machine-made goods which were obviously of superior quality and sold at a cheaper rate. The collapse of the rural artisan industries was caused largely by competition with the cheaper imported machine goods from England. The cotton weaving and spinning industries were worst hit.

As regards the weaving industry as a whole, it might be said that the products of the local looms could not, at any rate in the towns and larger villages, compete with the machine-made articles of English manufacture, though some were prized for their fine texture. Even then hand-woven cotton cloths still held their own in rural tracts, owing to their durability. On the whole, the industry was not thriving and the weavers were taking up other means of earning their livelihood in increasing numbers.

Gopabandhu Das raised voice in order to improve the lot of the country weaver, blacksmith, goldsmith or the shoemaker. He stated: "It is needless to say that weaving has from time immemorial been the chief cottage industry in this country but most of the handloom weavers have under the peculiar economic pressure caused by foreign influences, been driven out of their family occupation and are now reduced to extreme poverty. A movement organised for the revival of the industry will not only help a dying community but will foster a spirit for new industries among our artisan classes".²³

The sale of the imported salt was increasing after 1863. By 1898 the salt industry in Orissa become almost extinct due to the unhealthy competition of Liverpool and Madras salt. Consequently nearly 40,000 indigent people of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts were deprived of their means of livelihood. Dislocation of any single community from its proper economic position affected other economic groups. Pandit Gopabandhu Das rightly observed :

"When I see the great body of labourers suffering year by year for want of employment and hopelessly leaving their wives and children, going out to Burma and Assam in quest of wages, I cannot but bewail the loss Orissa has sustained at the hands of officers who should have looked at the situation with sympathy, a liberal spirit and in a states man like way."²⁴

Most of the ruined handicraftsmen, artisans and salt-makers failed to find alternative employment. The only choice open to them was to crowd upon Agriculture. The increasing pressure on Agriculture resulted in the steady deterioration in the material condition of the rural people.

Rice was the chief article of export. The Sea-export of food grains from the province continued to rise. It amounted to 1,28,000 maunds in 1868-69, 3,00,000 maunds in 1869-70, 4,00,000 maunds in 1870-71, 4,83,000 maunds in 1871-72, 4,00,000 maunds in 1872-73, 12,84,881 maunds in 1873-74 and 17,54,654 maunds in 1876-77. It so happened that even at the time of scarcities, the export of food was as brisk as ever. Although in 1873-74 the crop was only an average one in Balasore, it exported about one million and a third of maunds of rice. In 1877-78, exportation was carried on to such a dangerous extent that there were unmistakable signs of exhaustion of surplus stock. Although Puri was the least important of the Orissa ports, its export of rice was too high.²⁵

Several factors were responsible for the increasing exportation of rice from Orissa. Rice was cheaper here in comparison with other provinces of India. The deep poverty of the people compelled them to sell rice at a low price during the harvesting season. Besides, the Orissa's long coastline had some ports affording ample scope for carrying on export of rice.

With the increase in export of rice, the price of rice showed a constant rise and Rice became scarce. In 1865, the normal rate of rice was 30 to 40 seers per rupee. Whereas the average price of the rice between 1867 and 1876 was 26 seers per rupee, it was 21 seers between 1877-1886 and 18 seers between 1886—1898.²⁶

The rise of price of rice caused great hardship to the labouring classes. Because their wages did not rise in the same proportion as the rise in prices. Whereas their daily wages was 2 annas in 1814, it was 3 annas in 1889.²⁷ The rise of price did not benefit small farmers as they did not have much to sell. Besides, most of them sold their produce either to money lenders or to rich traders at a lower rate during the harvesting seasons. Rise of price was a source of trouble for the shop-keepers and Government employees. Actually big farmers and landlords reaped the benefit of high prices.

The merchants of Orissa did not gain from the export and import trade. Oriyas had little commercial enterprise. They did not possess capital to engage directly in trade. Orissa's import and export trade was practically in the hands of outsiders. The rice merchants were principally Muhammadans from Bombay and Koomutees from Madras and the cloth merchants, Marwaries from Jeypore and Marwar and hide dealers, Cabulies from Afghanistan.²⁸ Besides several English firms like Messers Brett Brothers, Messers Chambers and Company and Messers Valetta and Company kept up their agencies in Cuttack, Puri and Chaandbali to look after their commercial interests. There were hardly one or two Oriya merchants.

But there is no denying the fact that the maritime trade of Orissa in the 19th century (before the opening of railways) conferred some benefits on the people of Orissa. Firstly, the increasing import of consumer goods (machine-made articles) was indicating of improvement in the standard of living of the people. Secondly, people in general got salt and cloth of fine quality at a cheaper rate. Thirdly, the rising export trade in rice brought about improvement in the material condition of the big farmers. Furthermore, export of such minor items like hide, oil-seeds, coconut, fish, dried fish and jungle products yielded some profit to the people of Orissa who were supplying them.

Conclusion

After 1866, several factors fostered maritime trade in Orissa. They were improvement of False Point, establishment of Chandabali Port, opening of navigable canals and development of road system. The principal export was rice and largest imports were salt and European piece goods. The ports of Orissa exported large quantities of rice to Madras Ports, Ceylone, Mauritius, Laccadive and Maldiv Islands.

The continued silting of the sands at the river mouths and almost total lack of proper care of the ports proved fatal to the functioning of the ports of Orissa. The ports of Orissa which were of any use were Puri, Chandbali and Gopalpur. The abandonment of salt manufacture was a great blow to the export trade of Orissa. The opening of the coast canal in 1887 and extension of the railways during the closing years of the 19th century facilitated the decline of the maritime trade of Orissa. After 1900 much of the Orissa's export were sent to important cities and ports of India by railway communication. The railways had a paralysing effect on the entire sea-borne trade of Orissa.

Maritime trade of Orissa was designed to serve the interests of British imperialism. The worst feature of maritime trade of British Orissa was that outside vessels had displaced Orissa's sea-going vessels and outside merchants (Indian and foreign) had captured her trade. The influx of foreign goods and consequent destruction of Orissa's weaving and salt industries, continuous export of rice from Orissa and consequent scarcity of food-grains and handling of the maritime trade of Orissa by the out-side merchants proved most harmful in their effects. The redeeming feature of the maritime trade was the displacement of indigenous products by machine-made articles, indicating a changing pattern of living.

Towards the end of the British rules, Orissa had some minor ports with no considerable volume of trade and commerce. So much so that they found it difficult to pay their own way. The few sea-going vessels (Indian and foreign) that touched them unloaded a limited quantity of cargo and still smaller number of passengers. Most of the out-going and in-coming travellers were Rangoon passengers.

In order to infuse a fresh lease of life into the maritime trade of Orissa, it was strongly pointed out by the eminent public man of Orissa that she needed good harbour in long range of her coastal area or in the vicinity of the great lake of Chilika, inter-communication among different land areas, rivers and the sea as to render transmission of goods easy and profitable and greater industrial enterprise. The Modern Review commented: Orissa has a long sea-coast. When the earliest maritime and mercantile history of Orissa is properly written by some Oriya scholars, the maritime and commercial enterprise and achievements of the province will be fully understood and her present and future possibilities measured to some extent. If the Oriyas were sufficiently educated and had a Government under popular control, they would certainly try to have some good harbours along their sea-shore. A progressive Government ought certainly to make arrangement for teaching shipbuilding and navigation to the people of Orissa."²⁹

References

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TRADITIONAL NAVIGATION TECHNIQUES OF NORTH ORISSA: A STUDY OF BALASORE COAST

Brajabandhu Bhatta

The present paper is the outcome of the field work undertaken in the coastal districts of Orissa under the scheme "Indigenous Traditions of Navigation in the Indian Ocean". Of course, information from other published and unpublished sources have been used. A field survey was made in order to gather information about the existing Tradition of Navigation among the marine fisherfolk of Balasore coast and to analyse their navigational techniques and the terms used by them. To gain an insight into the navigational practices, several bases of Balasore coast such as Talsari, Kirtania, Bahabalpur, Balramgarhi, Chandabali and Dhamra, etc., were surveyed.

Rich maritime heritage of Orissa had attracted a number of European countries to set up their factories on the Orissan coast which extends over 529 km. from Ichhapuram in south to Suvarnakha in north-east. Balasore was the most important port and commercial centre in this extensive coastal line. The Portugueses, English, Dutch, Danes and French, who came to India for trade established their trading settlements at Balasore as the place was blessed with favourable geographical situation with a chain of good navigable rivers and ports. Gradually Balasore emerged as a major centre of maritime trade in the entire eastern India.

With the growing European activities in Orissa, the age-old navigational methods underwent a drastic change as the indigenous practice could not withstand the modern techniques. The introduction of machine-made boats reduced the dependence on country boats which fully affected the existing skills and techniques of navigation.¹ Still traditional communities of artisanal fishing craft did not disappear altogether. The 1961 Census shows that there are about 30,050 active sea going fishermen in 16,886 households of artisanal marine fisherfolk in Orissa. Balasore district bordering West Bengal in the north is exclusively inhabited by Oriya and immigrant Bengali fisherfolk. The district has by far the largest number of fishing villages, i. e., 184 as well as the largest number of fisherfolk.²

Balasore has been rich in having variety of traditional boat and excellent boat building technique. Here the boats are made to cope with the climatic, coastal and oceanic conditions and also the need of the seafarers of that locality. And above all, the presence of a number of large rivers and delta system used to provide suitable site for the development of good port.

Balasore was the centre where ships and boats were built and also repaired. In 17th century, Balasore became a sea town where shipping was built.³ The Mughal rulers tried to safeguard the eastern coast of their empire with a permanent navy which required ships and boats in large quantities. So the Mughal Governors who took keen interest in the northern most part of Orissa used to choose Balasore as a ship and boat building centre. They had also tried to make the coast safe and secure against pirates like the maggs, the Feringis⁴ and the Arakanese raiders. Fear of Arakanese pirates forced Shaista Khan to adopt precautionary measures in order to continue the fame of Balasore as a good ship and boat building centre.⁵ The availability of ship and boat building materials like dossuttee or double treaded cloth, steel, iron articles and timber in the neighbourhood significantly contributed to the factor.

The average crew members of a local ship varied from five to six persons. For specific purpose like catching hilsa fishes the ship required about nine employees. Otherwise for catching vecta, telia, badia, nukuda and kantia fishes (local names of different marine fishes), a six-member crew was considered enough. Mazhi known as manguala was the principal person among the crew. He used to decide about the route, direction and for that he studied position of star, sun and moon. Other crew members were engaged in other works like throwing net, catching of fish, anchoring the vessel, preparing the foods and oaring the boat. The crew members were

expected to have some experience of navigation. The crew used to carry food, drinking water, light in their traditional craft. They also carried fuel, nets, anchors, oars, mast, sails and other necessities.

Sails used in the local boats were of two types, triangular and rectangular. They normally made of tirpala and akhā or sack were unfurled when wind was favourable, i. e., blowing from the behind of the crafts. Sails were used or rolled according to the condition of the wind. At the time of cyclone, storm sails locally known as panipala or karasala were required, when there was no wind, the boat was taken to the shore or to the deep sea by the help of oars.

Two types of anchorage were used in such boats, one having five teeth and the other having three teeth. Both types of anchorage were made of iron unlike those stone anchorage used in South Orissa. The crew communicated information by the help of signals, when they are in distress, they immediately tried to transmit information to nearby vessels through the bamboo stick by tying a cloth on its tip in the day time. At the night time, they transmitted to by lighting fire on the cloth. The crew in the indigenous boats used to solve their crisis in different ways. When there was sudden cyclone or storm, they used to try to come to the shallow area of the sea or towards the shore. If there was any leakage of water, they closed the hole by the help of akhā (sack) or cloth. If the hole was bigger, then they returned to the shore as soon as possible. When someone was injured or fell ill, they immediately try to return to the shore to contact nearby physician. However, if someone died in the vessel, they returned back to the village with the dead body. They did not have any provision for medical treatment in the boat at the time of fishing. If one of them became ill, they used to give him tenṭuli pāni (tamarind water) which they usually took with them.

The boatmen of this region calculated time by observing position of sun in the day, and in the night by position of moon and other stars. They used the shadow of the mast in the day time to determine time. Some aged boatmen could know time at night by the help of nose. When they felt the speed of passing air was more in the right side of the nose, that was more than 12 P. M. in the night. They also calculated time by observing stars. They knew that Kuanatara or morning star was seen at about 4:00 A. M. in the eastern sky, two badadeulia-taras were seen in southern sky during 10:00 P. M. and 12:00 P. M. and the sanjua-tara (the evening star) was seen in the west between 7:00 P. M. and 9:00 P. M.

The boatmen of Balasore measured the depth of water by a long bamboo stick, locally known as keralbaunsa. They dipped the bamboo tied with a stone at its bottom into the water calculated the depth. Sometimes they used to throw the anchor into the sea and then pulled it out and measured the depth by calculating the length of rope. They had the knowledge that increasing depth meant movement towards deep sea, and decreasing depth as an indication of nearing the shore.

They have also knowledge about waves, locally known as dula, currents and tides. They experienced three types of waves such as high, moderate and storm waves. The high waves locally known as tribennidhara were the sign of approaching cyclone. Such waves also helped the boatmen to return to the shore during the time of cloudy night, because they followed the waves. An interesting thing was that these boat people confused themselves in finding difference between actual current and tidal flow. But they knew two types of tides, the uthja or high tide and padia or low tide. They also knew the pattern of occurrence of tide, and the rise of high tide only during the time of fullmoon and newmoon day. Generally they went to sea at the time of ebb and return at the time of tide.

Finding of direction has been an important aspect of indigenous tradition of navigation. The various factors such as wind, sun, moon, stars, coastal landmarks, waves, currents were associated with the direction finding. The boatmen used to sail by determining the position of wind which usually helped in finding out direction in the mid-sea. They could identify varieties of wind which they called uttara (north), isania (north-east), purbali (east), sunili (south east), dakhina (south), dakhina pichhadi (south-west), paschima or pachhali (west) and rebina (north-west) in north Orissa.⁶

The south and south-east winds of the summer season were favourable for navigation. While the south-west wind of the summer was unfavourable, the north and north-west wind, during the winter were favourable for the boatmen. Since the east onshore winds blowing during spring and the early summer were not suitable, the boatmen had to be satisfied in navigation close to the shore.

Sun and moon played important role in traditional navigation. By observing the position of sun, the boatmen calculated time and direction in the day time. Similarly moon helped them in this process in the night time. Besides, for direction, they also took the help of some stars. They used to learn about the position of stars, from their forefathers. However, they did not have knowledge about latitudes and longitudes. For direction finding, they used to take the help of traditional landmarks like big trees, tapu or big heaps of sand, hills, light house, etc.

The boatmen had also their own perception of marine environment. They could predict storm, cyclone, heavy rain and heavy tides by observing certain signs. Batashi birds in the sky; cumulus cloud, big wave, not finding fishes for a day or two, some particular sound of the waves and the east-west sky becoming redish were the signs of approaching cyclone. They could anticipate heavy rain when they marked a circle round the moon with stars in the middle. By counting a lunar month beginning from amabasya to purnima, they could predict high tide in sea.

In Balasore coast, both Oriyas and Bengalis are engaged in the fishing. The traditional fisherfolk castes are Kaibartta, Gokha and Rajbhansi. But nowadays, the non-traditional castes like Khandayts, Gauda, Teli, Barik, etc., are also engaged in fishing.⁸

The fisherfolk of Balasore is embedded in a variety of social customs, religious beliefs and traditions. The supernatural and symbolic idealistic significance is marked by a number of religious practices, rituals, to inaugurate a new boat, to pacify the sea, to ensure good catch, safe return, etc. The object of rituals and practices is either the boat, the sea and the net or the Goddess and Gods of Hindu tradition or local folk deities. They worship Gangamata, Kali, Varuna, Kathabudi (generally worship the Goddess of boat), and other Gods and Goddesses. Besides¹ at Chandbali Goddess Dakesvari, Dhamrei at Dhamra, Goddess Gadanayikini at Balaramgarhi are also worshipped, Goddess Brahmani at the confluence of Brahmani river. Besides at the every confluence of the river and important places of navigation, folk Goddess are worshipped with vermilion. Besides the people also worships Satyanarayan, Gayatree, Jowar, etc. A general practice of worship the boat is to burn the incense sticks or ghee threadns while sailing. Some offers daily flowers, fruits or prayers to the boats or their Goddess before setting out to sea. Besides, the fisherfolk communities also observe rituals for children, like sasthipuja, uthiary, ekoisa, namakaran, annaprasanna, chudakarma, etc. They also observe prathamastami and different bratas.

The food habit is very simple. Their main food is rice and fish. The fisherfolk used to sing chorous songs from Oriya at the time of fishing. They recite verse from Oriya folklores like Bhagabata, Mathuramangala, Gopalila etc. In the night they gather near the sand hill and Trinath fair is celebrated.

Thus the above study reveals the fact that the indigenous tradition of navigation is still flourishing in Balasore coast in one form or another. There are still many local pockets, where the folk are engaged in marine fishing and their knowledge about traditional navigation still can be traced. Active maritime commerce, Supporting many varied forms of fishing, still flourishes today⁹. However, with the coming of mechanical boats, they are unable to compete them, as a result one of the oldest tradition of Orissa, i. e., tradition of indigenous navigational activities is in the verge of extinction.

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RISE AND FALL OF THE PORTS OF BALASORE DISTRICT

—Banshidhar Bhoi

In 16th and 17th centuries the European traders like Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and French and the English East India Company came to Orissa and started their settlement at Balasore and Pipli. Since then they played an important role in the maritime trade of Orissa. During that period commodities worth lakhs of rupees were being imported and exported from the sea ports. But as early as 1700 A. D. the port of Pipli on the Subarnarekha, 30 miles north of Balasore, completely silted at the mouth, as a result of which the passage of the bar gradually became unsafe for the ships. From 1750 onwards the marine business at Balasore port gradually dwindled and it appears to have continued with low key till the advent of the Company's political power in Orissa.

In 1803, after the British occupation of Orissa, the trade in entire Balasore district got a new thrust. The Government surveyed the entire coast of Balasore district and selected eight suitable ports, viz. Subarnarekha, Saratha, Chhuna, Balasore, Laichanpur, Churamon and Dhamra (including Chandbali). The Custom records now preserved in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar throw light on the progress and development of marine trade of the ports of Balasore district. The following few tables with regard to Balasore and her neighbouring ports will give us a general idea about the quantum of trade transacted there between 1871 and 1874.

Name of the Port	For the year 1872-73		1873-74	
	Value of Import	Value of export	Value of import	Value of export
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Dhamra and Chandbali.	Rs. 56,943-12 Anna-0 Pahula.	Rs. 39,155-10 Anna-9 Pahula.	Rs. 12,85,539-6 Anna-10 Pahula.	Rs. 7,69,575-2 Anna-7 Pahula.
Churamon			Rs. 700-0 Anna 0 Paula	Rs. 22,129-2 Anna-0 Pahula.
Laichunpur	Rs. 52,061-15 Anna-0 Pahula.	Rs. 1,42,948-0 Anna-0 Pahula.	Rs. 1,655-0 Anna-0 Pahula.	Rs. 1,16,186-6 Anna-6 Pahula.
Chanooah		Rs. 12,380-15 Anna-9 Pahula.		Rs. 17,361-5 Anna-11 Pahula.
Saratha		Rs. 709-11 Anna-11 Pahula.		Rs. 12,474-1 Anna-1 Pahula.
Subarnarekha		Rs. 15,055-10 Anna-0 Pahula.		Rs. 24,398-14 Anna-6 Pahula.
Total	Rs. 1,09,005-11 Anna-0 Pahula.	Rs. 2,14,250-0 Anna-5 Pahula.	Rs. 12,87,894-6 Anna-10 Pahula.	Rs. 9,62,124-15 Anna-7 Pahula.

FOR THE YEAR 1871-72

Name of the harbours	No. of vessels which entered each harbours	Amount of port dues realised	Cost of maintaining the harbours
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Dhamrah	38	Rs. 409-12 Anna-10 Pahula	Rs. 216
Churamun	14	Rs. 94- 2 Anna- 0 Pahula	Rs. 216
Saratha	4	Rs. 24-12 Anna- 0 Pahula	Rs. 216
		Rs. 130-11 Anna- 1 Pahula	
Chhanua	17	Rs. 105-15 Anna- 1 Pahula	Rs. 216
Subarnarekha	24	Rs. 63-15 Anna- 0 Pahula	--
Laichanpur	3	Rs. 13- 2 Anna- 0 Pahula	Rs. 216
		Rs. 77- 1 Anna- 0 Pahula	

Towards the middle of the 19th Century owing to silting of some of the river mouths the position of ports gradually began to change. Thus Subarnarekha was replaced by Batanagar and Mandhata on the coast canal, Barabati on the Gochida river, Panchapara by Saranatha. However, Chhanua, Laichanpur and Churamun ceased to exist. A new port at Baliapal on the Matai river near Chandbali had absorbed the trade of the old port Dhamra situated 15 miles lower down the river at the confluence of the Matai and Chandbali on the north Bank of the Baitarani river.

As per a contemporary report Chandbali was a subsidiary port of Dhamara but as there was a great influx of trade with the opening of steamer communication, as a result it was treated as a separate port in the accompanying steamers.

Another circumstances favourable to the development of trade at Chandbali was that the passenger traffic had very considerably increased in consequence of cheap fares and easy transport from Calcutta, attracting a long portion of the pilgrim and local traffic from the land routes. The report further adds the ports which had trading interaction with Balasore coast were Calcutta, Bombay in the west to Arrakan on the east, and foreign ports on the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon occasionally the Mauritius and rarely the Cape of Good Hope. Vessels originally starting from the ports other than Calcutta usually sought either Calcutta first and there discharged their cargoes before proceeding to Balasore to take in cargoes of rice or else arrived in ballast.

The prosperity of the ports of the Balasore district as the most profitable trading centres on the Bay of Bengal continued for a period of about half a century.

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FISH TRADE IN PURI COAST IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Rajib Lochan Sahoo

Fishing is one of the oldest employments of mankind. Archaeological evidences show that man learned to catch fishes in traps and nets. These ventures were limited at first to the lakes and rivers, but as he improved his boats and fishing devices, man ventured into sheltered coastal areas and river mouths and eventually further out on the continental shelves, the relatively shallow ocean plains between the land and the deeper ocean areas. Fisheries range from small family operations relying on traditional fishing methods to large corporations using large fleets and advanced technology. Small-scale fishing is ordinarily conducted in waters relatively close to a house port but factory ships that are equipped to process the catch on board often go thousands of miles from shore.

The study of fishes, the science of ichthyology, is of broad importance. There are many reasons why fishes are of interest to man; the most important is his relationship with and dependence on the environment. A more obvious reason for interest in fishes is their role as a moderate but important part of man's food supply.

The oceans constitute the largest factories of living organic matter especially fish. Commercial fishing, which is of great economic importance in countries with extensive inland waters or with access to the sea and oceans, contributes a significant share to world food, particularly protein. The development of the commercial fishery industry is linked to the development of fishing techniques that grew in response to various economic and social pressures especially the growth of the market.

The present study intends to focus on the fishing techniques and fish trade in Puri coast and Chilika during the early 20th century. Fish is also one of the most important natural resources of Orissa. Her sea coast, small harbours, rivers, tributary rivers have plenty of fishes. In Orissa, fish formed almost an universal article of consumption. All sections of Oriya people, took fish, except the religious people or sects and those who have taken a vow not to eat fish. Therefore no wonder, fish forms a supplementary means of subsistence of many Oriya people especially the fishermen, i. e. the *Nuliyas*, *Keutas* and *Majhis*.

The Fisherman

Fishing was the occupation of an important section of the people of Puri. The district had an open coast. From the sea coast of Puri deep sea fishing was carried on by the Telugu settlers not by local Oriya fishermen. Those Telugu settlers were mainly from Ganjam. They were called *Nuliyas* who were found in Puri. Nuagaon, Arakhkuda, Khirisai, Sahadi, Ramlenka and Manik Patana. *Nuliyas* who were a caste of fishermen and boatmen, spoke both Telugu and Oriya languages. The *Nuliyas* who lived near the Chilka as a rule paid no rent for their houses. However, those who lived in Puri paid rent and a Municipal tax. *Nuliyas* were extremely hardworking and could work for hours together in an open boat swamped by the seas. They were physically well built and expert swimmers. Swimming was almost as natural to them as walking. They were usually in attendance when bathing was going on in the surf, and numerous lives could have been saved by their skill.

Fisheries can be classified into three natural classes, i. e. (1) Fresh water, including rivers, tanks, canals, and irrigation channels as well as rice fields during the rains, and jheels or tanks which are connected with rivers during the rains (2) brackish water, including estuaries and lakes and (3) marine. In 1912 the area of potential fishery tracts in Orissa, of the first two classes, was roughly estimated as 8,000 square miles. In addition to that the open sea extending along the Orissa coast covered a distance of about 250 miles.

Fishing Techniques

The most common method of fishing in inland waters was by means of a *jan*. This was an extensive bamboo enclosure, by which the fishes that came for shelter and food in the shallow water were kept confined. They were caught daily until the enclosure dried up and the whole of the fish was caught. This method of capturing fish was commonly found in Chilika Lake. A single *jan*, put in Chilika Lake often covered more than a square mile.

Another method of fishing was the erection of a *baja* or *patta*, i. e. a screen of split bamboo was set up in shallow water, with a small space left in the middle trap was placed. As the fishes go through they were caught in the trap. Another interesting method which was sometimes employed in small tanks of shallow water, was a kind of conical basket, open at the mouth, having also a small opening at the smaller end, through which an arm could be thrust. The villagers sometimes turned out in a lobby armed with these contrivances and systematically could fish in the pond. Men, women or children walked through the water and placing the open end on the ground just in front of their feet, and then thrust the arm through the smaller opening and caught in hand any fish that happens to have been imprisoned.

Use of Nets

The nets used in fishing in Orissa were most varied. The most common nets used in the foreshore of Puri and adjoining areas were small seine nets, dragnets, gill nets and purse nets. The cast net with iron weights was in common use for smaller catches. It could be worked by one man either from a boat or on foot. It was dexterously whirled over the head and then cast, while falling in the form of a circle. Drag nets were often used with boats, and a good many of them were provided with a purse or large pocket which is often termed as purse net. For deep sea fishing the fisherman used a large net called *catamaranjai*. One corner of the net as held by the rope from the catamaran the opposite corner is heavily weighted, and the rest of the net is kept stretched by means of floats and weights carefully arranged. When the fish pass through, many get entangled in the meshes, the floats sink and the net is drawn up with the fish all hanging by their gills. Baited hooks were also used to catch fish near Puri beach.

For² fishing during the calm months, the *Nuliyas* used the seine net, and at time made excellent hauls of bijram, pamfrets, small soles etc. A kind of herring was also found in abundance. With the seine net the fisherman could not go far out as one end of the rope to which the net is attached is left on the beach where the net is eventually hauled. With small gill nets or hooks and lines the *Nuliyas* went to distance of two or three miles in calm weather in catamarans, but their hauls were small. During the prevalence of the south-west wind when the seine could not be used a little fishing was done with gill nets not far from the beach. But all deep sea fishing practically, ceased from about the middle of March to about the middle of September.

Fishing in Chilika Lake

The Chilika Lake also formed a most valuable fishery. It had fishes of all kinds. The main varieties were mugils and perch, besides prawns and crabs, which grew to a large size. There was also a small Oyster bed at Manikpatna. The best fishing grounds were situated on the south side of the lake near the sea, along the numerous creeks and channels, and round the low uninhabited island known as Nalabana. The fish was caught in the shallow water near the banks from October to November by means of fixed cruives (*jans*) each of which was over a mile long and several hundred yards wide. Prawns were caught in abundance from January to March in bamboo traps. Nets were also used in the creeks as well as in the Chilika itself throughout the year, and very large hauls were often made. Shoals of hilsa were found in the rainy season near the north-east corner where Daya river falls into the lake.

Fish Trade

Sea fishes from Puri, apart from meeting the local demands, catered to the needs of the adjoining areas and districts. Some of the fishes were packed with ice and exported to Calcutta by rail. Bhukti and other large kinds were also sent to different parts of Orissa, including Sambalpur and to Calcutta. Evidences shew that owing to the absence of any large market of sea fishes in Puri, and its adjacent areas, most of the fishes were dried and the larger varieties of fishes were salted. These salted dry fishes were exported to Cuttack and Tributary States and Sambalpur. The salted dry fishes of Bhukti, Hilsa, dried prawns and other large fishes had also a lucrative market outside Orissa especially in Calcutta and Burma.

The dried fish or Sukuwa did not fascinate the foreigners, though it had a good business in domestic market. Dry salting was the method most commonly employed for preserving fish. The fish was ripped up in two from the snout to the tail, the entrails were taken out and the inside washed and cleaned. Salt was rubbed both inside and outside, and the fish placed in small rows under some pressure, such as that of a plank, and the juice allowed to exude for a little time. They were next spread out in the sun for a few days until they were quite dry. Dry salt was then put inside, the quantity varying according to the size of the fish, and the halves which remain joined at the back were then folded and the fish was ready for the market. The dry salted fish remained in a good condition for several months. The common dry fish preparations were from the Hilsa, Bhukti, certain varieties of Muglis and other large kinds of fishes.

The fishing trade in the early twentieth century Orissa did suffer due to the higher salt tax imposed by the British Government in Orissa Province. As the dry fish making required sufficient salt the new salt laws and taxes came on the way of the expansion of the dry fish trade. The new land taxes imposed on the *Nuliyas* in the land revenue settlement of 1896-97 also became a burden on the fisherman. As the British Government did not take much interest in promoting the fish trade in Orissa, the Oriya fisherman lagged behind their counter-parts in Madras Presidency.

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PART II

CREDIT AND BANKING SYSTEM IN ORISSA 1600—1800

—Lalatendu Das Mohapatra

By the end of the seventeenth century the commercial network of Orissa had attained a high degree of specialisation and sophistication owing to large scale commercial activities in the province. By this time the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese, the Danes and the merchants of various Asian origin had either opened up factories in her port towns or settled around here to carry on trade. Sometimes also the merchants operated their business from outside the province through their commission agents. Amidst such a commercial scenario though trade rivalry was visibly increasing, one of the logical outcome of this pluralistic trading society was commercial co-operation among various trading groups. The trading skills, methods and expertises of various ethnic communities irrespective of their races, nationalities and religions were integrated into a common system which came into existence in this time and continued to operate till the close of the eighteenth century.

The development of a well-integrated credit system was one of the important outcomes of this commercial integration of Orissa. By the beginning of the eighteenth century a sophisticated banking system appears to have developed in this province. Though we have little evidence to show how far this banking system was helpful to administration, it may hardly be emphasised that they played very important role in province's overseas as well as inland trade. The merchants whether they belonged to Asian communities or European could borrow from each other if they could win others good faith or provide suitable security.

The present paper seeks to highlight the operation of the credit and banking system in Orissa which began to be integrated with the rest of the country from mid-seventeenth century. This integration was as a result of her commercial integration, the process of which started a little earlier but seems to be complete by the last decade of this century. By the close of our period this banking system played some crucial role for the Marathas and the English East India Company as administrator in Orissa and Bengal respectively.

So far the mercantile group benefited from this system is concerned, a typical case may be cited about the English East India Company. For them from the very beginning of their trade in Orissa, which started in 1633, securing of capital for investment was by no means a small problem. Though the Company received sufficient treasures in the form of gold and silver and European goods from their Court of Directors in London, their main problem was to either convert them into local currencies or sell them in time. Generally the prices of merchandise were very high in the time of shipping season which was between October and February. So the Company always tried to avoid spot purchase as much as possible and secured the goods well in advance. However this could be possible if the investment was started in an off season by negotiating with various middlemen and manufacturers by paying them advance. An English report from Balasore in 1650 also says that 50% could be saved if they maintained a stock of money before hand.¹ But as the main problem was to arrange money in time, here the Company encountered with two major difficulties: First their imports came only in the time of shipping season when the prices were too high. Secondly, they were left with very little time to coin the treasures and sell the goods to secure money.

Hence to avoid all such difficulties the Company tried to secure money from local sources in various methods. But in this field the English Company lagged far behind their European counterpart Dutch East India Company. So far the latter is concerned, they secured the bulk of their capital mainly through Intra-Asiatic trade and little from borrowing. So far their Asiatic trade is concerned, they secured a monopoly in spice trade in Indonesia archipelago. They imported for sometimes the bulk of their bullions from Japan. Besides this, their trading vessels also regularly plied between Indian coasts and

Ceylon and Maldives. About their financial strength in eastern water, one English report from Balasore says how great not only their credit is, having continually shipping in these seas, in a manner commanding a trade, but also how great profit the (they?) negotiating too and from this country from Japan to Bengalla, from China to Cost Choramondels, etc. brings their Company, and how available it is to Holland, they needing so much the lesse stock thence'. ² Thus this branch of trade well-supplemented the trade with Holland. But so far as the English is concerned their Asiatic trade can be said to be only a lacklustre activity. Hence in the absence of this branch of profit, the Company had no other alternative but turn to the indigenous credit market in Orissa. The Court of Directors also authorised the Company to borrow money locally in case of exigency. For example in their early days of trade in Orissa when saltpetre was the most important consideration of all, the Court had instructed to Balasore Factors to invest more money in this commodity even if they ran "into debt".³

Unfortunately we do not have much evidence about the nature and structure of credit and banking system in this province in early or pre-seventeenth century. Though rural credit was certainly prevalent in pre-Muslim Orissa, it seems that they were very much rudimentary in nature. In those days apart from the village money-lenders, a temple in the village also interestingly performed banking functions. The temple heads lent the money to the needy people.⁴ However, such type of credit institution could not have been any use for the merchants needing commercial capital. From the beginning of the seventeenth century the banking system in Orissa slowly expanded mainly due to two factors. Firstly even though the Mughals collected the revenue in Orissa in kind, they had to remit them to the imperial exchequer in cash. Secondly, with the expansion of trade the need for commercial capital and a well-integrated credit system grew up. Though we do not have any documentary evidence about the existence of any merchant banker in the first half of the seventeenth century, *Chitravali* a love poem composed during the reign of Jahangir by Hindi Poet Usman throws some inference in this regard. The hero of this poem Sujan Rai, the Prince of Nepal on his return sojourn to his own country reached Jagannath (Puri) and exchanged there five jewels with Lachchan Sahu, a local merchant and *sahukar* (banker) with money.⁵

However in the second half of the seventeenth century we come across a number of bankers who lent money to various merchants and English trading companies. In the eighties of this century there was a leading banker in Balasore named Kalyan Pal who regularly financed the investment of the Company. In 1681, he made payment of Rs. 1,21,510, ¹ one *anna* to Khem Chānd and sixteen other merchants on behalf of the Company.⁶ In October of the same year he paid Rs. 20,000 to Rewādās and three other merchants.⁷ Though in this decade there was no mention of any other financier, it is clear from our sources that the Company regularly borrowed money from the local money market. For example in 1684 the Hugli Council authorised the Balasore Factors to borrow one lakh rupees.⁸ Later in the same year the Balasore Factor also borrowed Rs. 3,000 for 'urgent needs'.⁹ However in the nineties our sources mention a number of financiers who frequently lent money to the Company either individually or jointly. In November 1690 the Balasore Factors borrowed Rs. 5,000 from Paramānand and Mia Chānd. Again in the next month they borrowed Rs. 3,744 from the same merchants.¹⁰ In January 1691 the Factors borrowed Rs. 4,000 from Din Dayal, a local merchant.¹¹ Again in the same month the Factors borrowed Rs. 4,000 from Hākim Chand and Kuber Chānd.¹² It seems that from now onwards the credit market in Balasore was well developed and organised. As late as 1748, we also find that the Company borrowed 8,000 Madras rupees from Bhagwati Pāl, a merchant of Balasore.¹³ Sometimes, the Company also depended on the merchants outside Balasore for credit. In 1683, Mathuradas of Hugli was asked to remit Rs. 50,000 to Balasore to continue the investment there.¹⁴

However the main drawback of this indigenous banking house was the high rate of interest the bankers used to charge. In 1684, though the Hugli Council authorised the Balasore Factors to borrow at 1% per month but the latter were compelled to borrow at 1½%.¹⁵ This was also the rate prevalent in the first half of the eighteenth century when in 1719 the Company also compelled to borrow at the rate of 1½% when the weavers demanded more money.¹⁶ So far other regions in India is concerned we

have in evidence that in Golconda the rate was $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ or less after 1648.¹⁷ We may say here that in entire eastern coast the rate was more or less same. But if the rates at Surat or Agra are taken into consideration one finds that the credit market there was much cheaper. From 1651 the rate in Surat fluctuated between $\frac{1}{2}\%$ and $3\frac{1}{4}\%$. In Agra also after 1645 the rate was $3\frac{1}{4}\%$ or less.¹⁸ In the second half of the seventeenth century the credit market in about all parts in India expanded and developed which cheapened the rate of interest. But in spite of this the market in eastern India remained always dearer and higher than either at Surat or Agra. For example before 1650 the rate at Surat was mentioned to be 1% and at Agra of course fluctuating between 1% and $2\frac{1}{2}\%$,¹⁹ a rate cheaper than Balasore in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the credit market in the latter place presumably grew up. In 1650 a report from Balasore mentions the rate at 3%,²⁰ which was not far from the same 2% or 3% of Golconda before 1645.²¹ Thus the regional differences in interest rates persisted throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. "Evidently, the capital market in the sub-continent was still a long way from integration. In fact, despite the growing commerce and related demand for credit in Bengal,* the region did not have merchants comparable to the great Surat traders as sources of credit until the emergence of the house of Jagat Seth"²². On the other hand Virji Vora of Surat who was considered to be the wealthiest merchant in India in seventeenth century, and many big merchants of that region were the chief source of commercial credit to the European companies²³ which suggest less interest rate there. However, if the rate of Surat is compared with contemporary England it was even double than the latter. After the fall of interest rate in Surat in 1659, when the cost of credit was $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 9% per annum, in England it was 4%.²⁴

Apart from indigenous banking house the Company also depended on various local European agencies for their capital. Among all, the private Dutch Factors were the most important source of finance for them. We have in evidence the name of Jan Velter, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Pipili, who in 1666 lent Rs. 25,000 to the English on bill²⁵. The European Companies in those days did not object the private trade of their employees so long as it did not hinder their business. However the Factors on their part also always tried to hide their profit to their employers lest the latter suspected any malpractice on their part. Hence by lending the money to other European companies on bill and drawing the money in Europe was most convenient method of remitting them to home without the knowledge of the employer. Thus the Dutch continued to supply money to the English at least up to the end of the seventeenth century except during Anglo-Dutch naval war in the early seventies.²⁶

The Company also very often borrowed from its own servants which entailed less interest. For example in 1686 Captain Bromwell lent Rs. 2,000 to the Company at the rate of 1% to defray the expense of the factory. In 1687 the Company again took Rs. 4,000 from him to adjust the balance with a local merchant Chānd Māl. Here also the rate was 1%²⁷. But such borrowings from the Company's servants seem to be only occasional and resorted to when money from local merchants was not available. For example in 1686 the Company borrowed money from Bromwell when the local merchants refused any loan.²⁸

Apart from this we also have in evidence a state official offering loan to the European. For example in 1673, the French ship Flammand came to Balasore when her provisions were exhausted in the mid-sea. The captain of the ship was received well by the Governor of the town Mālīk Kāsīm, who lent him Rs. 3,000 on Promissory Note for the maintenance of the crew. The payment, on behalf of the Governor was made by a merchant, Moti Rām.²⁹ However, such loan was rare. As this was not a loan for commercial capital, it cannot be said that the state official was very often involved in financing to the Company, unless he is proved to be very much friendly with the Europeans. Moreover the English records of this time are replete to describe Mālīk Kāsīm as "abusive rascal" who used his official position to suit his own trading interest at the cost of other merchants.³⁰ Shāista Khān, the Subehdār of Bengal also sometimes forced the merchants to accept loan from him at the exorbitant rate of interest. Interestingly, though Islam strictly prohibits interest, there was no religious scruples even in the reign of Aurangzeb against such practices of officials' involvement in money-lending.³¹

* Bengal here denotes the Bengal Subāh consisting of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

While our sources deal a lot about the system of borrowing of the Europeans it deal little about the native merchants. However a short story of Fakir Mohan Senapati throws many light in this regard. In his story Kamalā Prasād Gorāp Senapati tells us about a type of marine loan prevalent in Balasore in about mid-nineteenth century. To him the nākhudā or majhi of a ship who acted as commission agents for his principal, i. e., the ship owner, secured a right to carry on a fraction of the cargo in the ship freight free on his own account. The capital which he arranged for his overseas investment was known as bottome which was secured as loan from various members of the family of his master. They were the latter's wife, daughters, servants and gumāstā etc., who lent some small amount according to their capability. Bottome was also invested in the name of a kid who was even on his mother's lap. If the ship returned safely the profit was shared 50% between the Commission agent and the lenders.³² Thus the lender bore all the risks of a sea-voyage.

This type of loan which Senapati mentions corresponds very much with commenda a type of loan which was popular in medieval Islamic world and Mediterranean ports in tenth and eleventh centuries and expanded to other parts of Asia with the expansion of trade. It is an arrangement in which an investor or group of investors entrusts the capital or merchandise to the agent who is to trade with it and returns to the investors the principal and a previously agreed share of the profits. As a reward for his labour, the agent receives the remaining share of the profits, which may also correspond to interest in an interest bearing loan. The risk of the safety of the sea-voyage and success of the business was borne exclusively by the investor and the agent was in no way liable for a loss of this nature, losing only his expended time and effort. Thus the system combines the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership. As in a partnership, profits and risks are shared by both parties, in commenda the investor risks capital while the agent time, energy and effort.³³ Thus this type of commercial arrangement was even popular up to the mid-nineteenth century in Orissa as we are informed by Senapati.

This is also otherwise known as respondentia system which prevailed in seventeenth and eighteenth century India, though in a slightly different form. Under this arrangement the loan is secured on the security of the cargo of the ships. The rate was adjusted to the risk and the length of the voyage, but the lender bearing the risk of the safety of the voyage. The loan was secured in various ways. The ship-owner, if he was not wealthy enough, secured the loan himself. It was also secured by the small merchants or peclars who freighted the goods on others ship on the security of their goods. Besides this a ship-owner himself also provided loan on respondentia if he had money to spare³⁴. For the ship owner's point of view the main advantage of this system was that in the absence of any marine insurance facility in those days, it reduced the ship-owner's risk³⁵. The ship-owner risked the ship and the lender his cargo and money. In 1743, a ship Jagannāth Prasād owned by Gopināth, a company servant of Balasore was sent to Madras which was financed by many Englishmen of Calcutta on respondentia. But the ship was wrecked near Madras causing loss both to the owner and the creditors. Thereafter both the parties requested the Chief and Council of Madras through Balasore Chief to salvage the ship.³⁶ Thus any kind of damage caused to the sailing ship was a headache to both the parties. This incident also throws one more light. By the mid-eighteenth century the Europeans and Indians actively co-operated with each other in pursuing their trading interests. Thus one provided the loan to other and freighted his ship. But such type of co-operation which in business may be termed as "partnership" began much earlier, i. e., before the Europeans came to Orissa. Our records are replete with instances of merchants of Balasore and Harishpur fretighting their goods in English ships which sailed for Persia, Masulipatam and Fort St. George in as early as 1642.³⁷ In the early days of their trade in Orissa and Bengal the Factors who were involved in private trade, they are also understood to have been financed by many local merchants for their trade with Persia and other regions in the Indian Ocean³⁸. Thus it seems that such type of commenda or respondentia system was known in Orissa even in Pre-Muslim or Pre-European era in her water. But after mid-seventeenth century this process was strengthened with the intensification of commerce.

So far the small business in an inland trade is concerned though we do not have any evidence it also seems that "Usurious money-lending was an essential prop" where the local sāhu or mahājan was involved in providing loan. Such type of money-lending "involved a measure of subservience on part of the trader to the moneylender". The peddler after peddling the goods when he came back with new goods the principal and interest was paid on the basis of the value of that goods.³⁹

By the close of the seventeenth century Banking in Balasore seems to have emerged as distinct profession. The merchants who provided loan to the English Company as we have seen, had no other commercial activities in our evidences. But it seems that a financial nexus existed between these merchants and the merchants who were engaged in sea trade either in their own ships or freighting the goods in other ships. But here it may also be noted that the two substantial ship-owning merchants of Balasore Khem Chānd and Chintamani Shāh who lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, were not necessarily dependent on respondentia loan for their sea-voyage. Possibly their financing linked to great commercial fortunes which they reaped by their trade with South-East Asia, Ceylon and Maldives. But one important factor that should not be lost sight of was their nexus with country weavers who remained thoroughly indebted to them.⁴⁰ Hence it was not impossible for them to procure the merchandise conveniently and cheaply for themselves for their export voyages.

The establishment of banking house led to the growth of use of credit instrument by the end of the seventeenth century. The bill of exchange of hundi was the best example. Thus the loans which the English Company secured from the local merchants of Balasore in the second half of the seventeenth century were on bills of exchange, payable at Calcutta.⁴¹ The bill which the Dutch Factors received from the English were encashed in London.⁴² The duration of time encashable depended on the distance between the two places. For example, in 1691 in a bill of Rs. 4,000 in which Hakim Chānd and Kuber Chānd were involved was payable within 5 days.⁴³ But for the Dutch the time of encashment in London was forty days after presentation.⁴⁴

By the second half of the eighteenth century a well-developed banking house was established in Orissa, especially at Cuttack by the sarrāfs outside Orissa. Gopal Das, a leading sarrāf of Benaras had opened up an intermediate agency at Cuttack through which the English were thinking to remit money to Carnatic from Calcutta.⁴⁵ A salt merchant Sambhu Bharati offered to stand as security for the Raja of Khurda for the latter's annual pesheāsh of Rs 10,000 to Marathas "On condition of being permitted to carry on his commerce, 'duty free' in the Raja's territory".⁴⁶ Apart from these two most important bankers, Abdūsh Shakur and a few other sāhukārs also carried on their business in Cuttack.⁴⁷ These merchants besides enjoying monopoly of duty-free trade in salt and paddy remitted the revenue of the province through their hundi network, provided loans to the marching troops and securities to the highest bidder of the revenue farmers. Also there were Goswain and Giri sects of merchants, "who excelled in money-lending business, invested money as shroffs in the salt trade and carried on banking transactions in favour of the Bhonsle Government"⁴⁸. These banking activities lend credence to the view that though by this time the province's overseas trade declined considerably, her inland trade continued to prosper.

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ABBREVIATIONS

E. F. I.	<u>English Factories in India</u> , ed. William Foster
E. F. I. IV etc	<u>English Factories in India</u> (New series) IV, ed. Charles Rawatt
J. A. I. H.	<u>Journal of Ancient Indian History</u>
O. H. R. J.	<u>Orissa Historical Research Journal</u>
H. M.	Home Miscellaneous, National Archives of India, New Delhi
B. F. R.	Balasore Factory Records, National Archives of India, New Delhi
C. F. R.	Calcutta Factory Records, as above
I. E. S. H. R.	<u>Indian Economic & Social History Review</u>
B. P. C.	Bengal Public Consultations
D. S. M.	<u>Diaries of Streysham Master</u> ed. R. C. Temple

COTTON TRADE IN ORISSA DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY A RANDOM STUDY

Prasanna Kumar Mishra

1.1. Orissa had acquired a considerable position in the trade map of India in the ancient and medieval times. Although there is no valid reference to the production of cotton in Orissa, manufacture of cotton cloth was one of the premier industries of this land.¹ Cloths were manufactured and exported in such quantities that Kalinga then became the word for cloth in old Tamil.² From the accounts of Ralph Fitch (1580—89), Manrique (1628-29), Peter Mundy (1628—34), and Alexander Hamilton (1708), it is further known that textile industry was one of the principal industries of medieval Orissa. Among the textile products cotton goods held the foremost place.

1.2. Decline of the textile industries in Orissa began with the Maratha inroads into this region from the beginning of the 18th century. The shrinkage in the volume of manufacture caused by the vicious cycle of loss of demands for raw goods, resulted in loss of demands for the finish commodities.³ Cotton fields were in consequence converted into fallow lands or paddy fields. The Maratha misrule led to rapid transplantation of the weaving population from Orissa to the developing weaving centres elsewhere. Village level industries in Orissa began to decline in the absence of governmental protection. There was also disinclination of the entrepreneurs to supply raw materials and money advance to the Oriya weavers. The weavers were compelled either to surrender their age-old experience in the craftsmanship to the need of cultivation or to migrate to the populous centre of S. W. Bengal. There was also seen shrinkage in annual raw cotton cultivation, in a climate of mounting anarchical conditions. Such a situation was exploited by the English East India Company to develop monopoly in manufacture as well as in trade.⁴

1.3. In 1633 the English East India Company met with a growing scarcity of cloth at Masulipatam and hence, resolved on sending out an expedition to open up trade with the fertile provinces at the south of the Ganges. The factory at Hariharpur was on the point of dissolution.⁵ The European Companies made advances to the weavers to enable them to buy their raw materials and support themselves while at work. Among the articles of investment of the English in Orissa, cotton yarn and cotton goods held the first place. The English factors purchased textile goods at Balasore and at Gingelly coast to sell them abroad like Persia. Yet the manufacture and trade of Orissa proper were very inconsiderable and unimportant, Stirling observed, A sufficiency of the coarser cloths is made for the use of the inhabitants in all parts of the district. The calicoes of Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Janjipur, Hariharpur were once much prized and sought after under the name of Sannoos, but, the demand for the finer fabrics of that description having long since greatly declined, the quantity now manufactured is very trifling.⁶

During the first three decades of the 19th century the impact of the Industrial revolution was felt increasingly in Orissa. It synchronised with the decline in the manufacture of and trade in Orissan textiles. The East India Company made sincere efforts to restore the trade and commerce of Orissa. It decided to supply cotton threads to the various weavers, and thus engaged them in works and employment. Consequently the Company's income from the export of Orissa textile commodities steadily increased. During the first ten years of the Company's rule in Orissa the average income derived from the export of cotton cloth piece-goods was Rs.56,0527. The rise in the volume of textile piece goods explained the steady prosperity of the textile industry, raw-cotton production in the hilly western Orissa and particularly in the garjat areas. In spite of this initial progress, the Orissa textile goods not only faced

the free competitions of the Bengal goods but also the products from Lanca-shire. The textile industry as a basic village level manufacture continued to linger on for consumption within the country but as an exportable commodities its significance records to the background.⁸

II

II'1. At the time of British conquest of Orissa cotton of various types were produced in small quantities in different parts of the province. Those produced were only just sufficient for home consumption. There was no export. The quantity is said to have, however, increased after the land revenue settlement of 1837.⁹ Cotton of two varieties such as Mari Kapas and Haldi Kapas were sown in the month of June and gathered in April every year in the district of Balasore. In the hilly areas the Kandhas and Savars cultivated cotton Haldiya and Achhua varieties. The first variety of cotton is grown mostly in the hilly parts of the district, being sown in June or July, and cut in October or November. The cotton seeds obtained from these species produced the chhua varieties of cotton in the plain land, which were sown in December and reaped in July. Haldiya cotton seed from the hills was preferred for the Achhua crop. The pods of the Achhua were larger than those of the Haldiya, of the plains, but those of the Haldiya grown in the mountainous towns were superior to either in the delta, the hill soil being much better adapted for the growth of cotton. Land newly reclaimed from Jungle is the best for this crop.¹⁰

II'2. In the beginning the British Government commenced the establishment of a cotton plantation on a small scale. It was in their contemplation to encourage growth of the bourbon cotton by introducing and endeavouring to find out a fit spot for a plantation. The place selected was immediately opposite to the Cuttack Cutcherry, on the point of land formed by the Mahanadi and Biroopa rivers. It was sufficiently high to prevent all fear of inundation while the vicinity of the rivers afforded easy means of irrigation and would render the transporting of the cotton, a matter of no difficulty. The ground selected had been long uncultivated, more, however, from the want of raiyats in the neighbourhood than owing to any great inferiority in the soil. In the Jungle portion which had been cleared there was considerable variety and an opportunity would thus be afforded of ascertaining the description of soil in which the plant would grow most luxuriously as well as how far it would thrive in places which could not be otherwise cultivated, such as high Konkeree spots of superior importance to the farmer. In about one hundred eighty beegha of the Bengal standard land, 20, 000 seeds were sown spending a sum of Rs. 391.14'2. But the experiment failed.

II'3. Another experimental attempt was made on cotton plantation. This time there was a great doubt about the result as the soil become so dry after the cessation of the rains and so parched and heated during the hot winds that young plants could, with difficulty, be kept alive throughout that season. Those seeds which might be planted at the commencement of the next rains would be as strong and as forward by this period in the next year by nursing through the ensuring hot winds. The Zamindar was paid one rupee per beegha as rent for the first year and 2½ rupees for the subsequent years. Further, a Chhapar shed house was built to live in the plantation field and to supervise the works of the persons in the field. The principal object in establishing the plantation was that of introducing valuable articles of agricultural produce, the cultivation of which required no extraordinary labour and expense, and would be fully attained.¹² Cotton seed were exported from Fort St. George, Madras for plantation. The quantity was two maunds.¹³ But, once again the establishment of the experimental cotton plantation did not produce any satisfactory result. However, before giving up the idea of closer of cotton plantation, the Commissioner of Orissa desired to know whether the cotton so far grown was superior in quality to the kind that was usually cultivated and whether any inclination had been evinced by the raiyats or others to plant it in preference to that they were in the hands of doing and further, what should be the best mode of plantation. After

the experimental cotton plantation proved unsuccessful in 1928, the Government of Bengal authorised the Commissioner of Orissa to abandon its undertaking and finally to close the accounts connected with it.¹⁴

II-4. Still, in 1830 another experiment was made on Tenaserin cotton seed. One bag of cotton seed from the Tenaserin coast was sent to the Collector of Cuttack for the purpose of promoting cultivation of this sort of cotton by distributing some of the seeds to such malguzars for introducing the cultivation in their estates. Trial cultivation was made in the States under khas management by way of giving small quantities of seed to some of the raiyats, and by encouraging them not only to sow but also to take care of the plant. Enquiries were also made thereafter about the steps taken to introduce this description of cotton, the methods pursued to bring it to perfection, the expenses incurred per beegha or acre until it yielded crops as well as the quantity, and value of that crop and the estimation in which the article was held in the market compared with the common cotton of the country. The Collector of Cuttack was asked to pay attention to all these aforesaid points while the experiment was in progress.¹⁵

II-5. The cotton seed appeared to have been injured either by long keeping or some other course as only 15 or 15 trees vegetated from these, however, which were planted in April and May 1830. A sufficient supply of seed was procured in October and November to plant a spot of nearly a beegha and this experiment thrived reasonably. Produce was copious and sent to the Cotton Mills at Fort Gloster, but the fibre was reported to be short for the spinning machinery. Therefore, the Tenaserin cotton seed cultivation was abandoned.¹⁶

II-6. The next experiment was made on the Georgian cotton seed in August 1830. It also did not give any result. Similarly the Orleans seed also failed. Although the original experiments of the British Government failed, inducements were made by them successfully, so that the Orissa natives could cultivate these various types of cottons for their own use. The natives did not produce more for the purpose of export. The net result of these experiments was that the labour of raising the annual cotton of this country was great as well as the risk of failure by the reasons; first of great draught when the plant was tender, and afterwards of destruction of the crop by early rains as the pods came to perfection in May and June. It proved risky at all seasons for a perennial cotton cultivation. Moreover, the cost of cultivation and production were not at all profitable. To sum up, therefore, the various experiments on foreign cotton seeds were not at all encouraging in Orissa.¹⁷

III

III-1. After the enactment of Trade Act XXI in 1841, the British Government entered into the next phase of attempt in the matter relating to cotton trade in Orissa. In 1852 the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Calcutta was entrusted with this task. The Society supplied American cotton seeds for distribution in the district of Cuttack and in the hill estates of Orissa. About five maunds of seeds were sent to the tributary mahals.¹⁸ The cotton growing places in the district of Cuttack were spotted. They were Asureswar, Sungra, Altee, Hariharpur, Tiran, Jhankar, Utikan, Jeypur, Padmapur, Kodinda, Jaipur, Sailo, Saibir, Parikud, Kurimal, Baruan, Kalamatia, Lohakhand, Ghagra, Damarpur, Jairabad, Chaudakulat, Kaimh, Paina, Ragree, Pachhikote, Sukinda, Madhupur, Balarampur, Chasapara, Dompura, Aul, Darpan, Motree, etc. The cotton grown in these areas were purchased by the beoparies and removed by bullocks during the months of June and July and those produced in the tributary mahals, were removed during the months of August, September and October. The produce was chiefly sold for local consumption and a small part. It was exported to the Calcutta market by land on bullock. A large supply of cotton was annually imported by boats from Sambalpur and exported to Calcutta on bullocks. Although every pargana was capable of producing this item, more or less, it is difficult to say to what extent the cotton cultivation would have spread with the availability or ready market for the produce. Still it might at least be increased fifty or sixty-fold. Although the defective means of irrigation and want of communication with distant markets stood as inseparable barriers, the cotton cultivation spread Orissa.¹⁹

III.2. By retaining, Sambalpur and the adjoining areas in 1804 the British held all the navigable rivers under their control. The cotton goods of Chhatisgarh found its way readily to Cuttack. The Europeans showed greater degree of commercial interest in this area. The local agents made settlement of the villages in favour of the Europeans in preference to the natives. Lt. Babington offered a sum of Rs. 7,000 per annum for the settlement of the parganas of Chandrapur, Padmapur, Sorsora and Lakhimpur for a period of three years. Lt. Cadenhead, the first Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, in 1850 recommended such a case to the Government of Bengal on the ground that the Government would earn double the revenue by such settlement. Lt. Babington, alone was able to grow sugar-cane and cotton in Chandrapur which was famous for these crops, and exported them to Ganjam. John Campbell, local Principal Assistant Agent to the Governor General at Sambalpur collected commercial balance and was engaged in cotton and sugar trade. The British Government started construction of roads from Cuttack to Sambalpur via Angul for the transportation of cotton goods etc. Road construction was completed by 1855. Roads in Sambalpur were constructed for the transportation of such goods to the plains. Consequently there was a good sign of increase in the growth of cottons. Within a decade from 1850 steps were taken for the development of the resources of Sambalpur. With a view to opening out a large trade in the country produce, negotiations were made with M/s. J. Barrwell. Lands were searched for the purpose of opening trading centres, on the term-basis of 20 years lease. The natives were, on the other hand, willing to lease out only the waste lands or the left-out villages of the old gauntias. Other lands could not be settled with the European trading concerns as it might create disturbances. The Government, however, tried to convince the natives that the country (Orissa) would get profit greatly by way of capital, energy and intelligence in cotton industry. The Government also decided not to put any objection if the trading concerns were left for themselves to settle the matter with the sarbarakars either by purchasing or sub-renting the lands they required. But in the tributary mahals leasing out land for such purpose was very difficult as the Rajas were not willing to alienate any lands permanently. However, attempts were made for a short-term lease, i. e., for 20 years, and that lease might be cancelled during the period of the successor Raja of a tributary mahal. Still, the Rajas were not prepared for permanently alienating any part of their territories. Nevertheless, in order to bring interest in the natives for the improvement of cotton trade, Captain H. B. Impey made an experiment on cotton cultivation with some of the best procurable cotton seeds. He obtained seeds of good quality so that it would give benefit to the Government.²⁰ The Agriculture and Horticulture Society of Calcutta got keen interest in it. M/s. Hugood was connected with cotton supply association and provided assistance for the growth of cotton industry in Sambalpur.

III.3. Thus cotton industry got a fillip from the second half of the 19th century, moving towards somewhat, a more flourishing condition, in spite of the fact that the Trade Act XXI of 1841 was amended in 1857 and affected the trade business in Orissa.

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SALT TRADE OF ORISSA UNDER BRITISH RULE, 1804—1900

Sadananda Choudhury

Orissa had a prosperous salt trade in the past on account of the following advantages. (1) The bounty of nature had placed at the disposal of the people of Orissa an inexhaustible treasure of the sea. (2) The people know well since time immemorial the art and skill of producing "the finest salt of all India".¹ The history of the salt trade in Orissa can be placed under two broad heads. They were : Inland and sea borne.

Inland Salt Trade

Under the Maratha rule in Orissa preceding the British, the salt trade of this province had great commercial importance. It had a reputation for its quality, cheapness and plentiful supply. Considerable trade in salt was carried on the river Mahanadi and its branches with the Central Province, Berar and a host of other countries in that direction.² By means of a barter trade, the salt of this province was exchanged for the products of central India.³ They brought with them a variety of merchandise laden on the immense droves of bullocks. Cotton formed the most important part of the merchandise alongwith opium, ganja and grains of different kinds.⁴ Kantilo was the principal mart and rendezvous of traders. Being situated on the river Mahanadi, it had a favourable location to be a commercial centre. During the months from January to April traders of Orissa exchanged their salt at this place for the cotton goods and other merchandise coming from the neighbouring regions in central India.⁵ Balanasi and Barkul were two other centres for this trade.

There were two main trade routes for the export of Orissa salt. The Chilika (lake) produced in the southern region of Orissa passed through the Barkul pass by way of the great road leading along the Mahanadi to Sambalpur, Nagpur and Berar. Salt produced in the central and northern coast of Orissa was exported to the Bihar districts through the Bamanghati Pass in the Mayurbhanj State.⁶ A small portion of the exports went to the Hijli district of Bengal under the British Government. During this period, British merchants resident in Bengal traded in Orissa salt with distant countries over the sea.⁷ At the time of the Anglo-French conflict in India, large quantities of salt were required for manufacturing munitions of the war. A greater part of this requirement was met by Orissa salt. A flourishing salt trade brought to the Maratha Government in Orissa an annual revenue which exceeded the amount of land revenue derived by them in this province.⁸ Towards the close of the 18th century, an economic struggle had developed on the issue of the salt trade between the Maratha Government in Orissa and the British (East India Company) Government in Bengal. This problem continued to trouble the British Government in Bengal until they occupied Orissa in 1803.⁹

After the conquest of Orissa by the British, the once flourishing inland salt trade to the north and westward of this province declined to the lowest ebb. This is attributable to the introduction of the British salt-monopoly in Orissa in 1804. Under this system, the British authorities in Orissa gave emphasis to the sea borne trade for supplying salt to the Bengal (Presidency) Market. The inland salt-trade of the province was neglected and subjected to restrictions in sharp contrast to the emphasis given to the sea-borne trade under auspices of the Government monopoly. In spite of this shift of emphasis, Orissa salt was still carried as far as Nagpur in central India and the northern districts of Bihar to the North of Orissa. The much restricted inland trade in this direction declined further after the sixties of the century. This was due to a serious challenge it came to face from the intrusion of the cheap Ganjam salt produced in

the neighbouring Madras Presidency. Ganjam salt threatened to replace the Orissa product from the Gadjat market. The marketing problem for the Orissa salt was further aggravated after the abandonment of Government manufacture in 1863. The relative position between the Orissa and Ganjam salt was considerably changed in favour of the latter. The promulgation of Act VII of 1864 in the wake of the introduction of the excise system in the province, subjected Orissa salt to the full Bengal duty of Rs. 3-4-0 per maund.¹⁰ Apart from the full Bengal duty, Orissa salt was saddled with the expenses incurred by Government on account of preventive measures for the suppression of smuggling.¹¹ Consequently the price of Orissa salt was considerably increased leading to a wide difference between the prices of Orissa and Ganjam products.

Negotiations vigorously conducted between the Madras and Bengal authorities to equalise the duty failed. The Madras authorities were determined not to raise their duty for the sake of equalisation. On the otherhand, they directly encouraged the intrusion of the low taxed Ganjam salt into Orissa and Central Provinces. As a result Orissa salt was gradually displaced from its markets in and outside Orissa. In the first place, it yielded place to Ganjam salt in the Central provinces market. In the second phase, its extensive market in the tributary Gadjat States and the southern Bihar districts was lost in favour of the Ganjam salt. Finally, the local market in the coastal region of Southern Orissa came under the sway of the under taxed Ganjam salt. This meant complete displacement of Orissa salt from all its markets over land.

The large scale intrusion of low taxed Ganjam salt in the guise of Orissa salt through the tributary states of Orissa created a complex problem for the Orissa produce in the Central Provinces market. A part of the Orissa salt levied with full Bengal duty for the Central Provinces was sold within the tributary states before reaching the Central Provinces customs line. The Bengal permit (*rawana*) for this salt was fraudulently transferred to Ganjam traders to cover their undertaxed salt for covering over to the Central Provinces. Atleast one lakh mounds of Ganjam salt annually left the Ganjam golas for the market in the Central Provinces. But no differential duty was ever received on the Central Provinces customs line. This was due to the manipulation of the Bengal permit for the Central Provinces market by the Ganjam traders. This evil practice, however, limited in extent, impelled the Central Provinces custom authorities to levy their duty on all salt passing into that province. In the result, Orissa salt paying full Bengal duty was subjected to an additional levy on reaching Central Provinces frontier. The prohibitory double duty resulted in much hardship and loss to traders of Orissa salt. This was proved destructive to trade and all that confidence which begets trade. Consequently, the trade between Orissa and Sambalpur with salt as one of the chief articles of merchandise was almost stopped. The cotton-salt traffic leaving its natural and traditional course towards the Orissa coast was diverted to Ganjam after reaching Sonepur lying under the political jurisdiction of the Orissa Commissioner. The prohibited double duty, Bengal and Central Provinces, levied on Orissa salt was barbourous and unjust.¹² An equitable adjustment of this question of great local importance for Central Provinces and Orissa could not be arrived to the disgrace of the administration, as remarked by Mr. I. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of the province of Orissa, so many authorities and departments were involved in this matter that it turned to be a hopeless affair to make the claims of Orissa heard.¹³ So long as the most undesirable and even shocking system of internal customs line existed between the different provinces there was little hope of a solution to this problem. The only remedy was assimilation of the salt duties especially between Madras and Orissa and the abolition of the customs line as a natural corollary. The question of salt duties and salt lines deserved the earliest and fullest attention of the supreme Government. But, by the time the salt duties were equalised all over India in 1882, the salt trade of Orissa with the Central Provinces was damaged beyond repair.¹⁴

Sea-borne Trade

Trade in Orissa salt over the sea assumed significance with the commencement of British rule in Orissa. As the monopoly under the new Government was introduced in 1804, the direction of the Orissa salt trade was diverted to the Presidency market in Bengal. The salt trade with Bengal brought prosperity to Orissa. The district of Balasore alone exported annually about seven and a half lakh maunds of salt to Calcutta,¹⁵ his prosperity lasted until foreign salt invaded the Bengal market in keen competition with Orissa salt. This intrusion was backed by political influence from Britain and encouragement from the Government of India. Liverpool salt could be landed at Calcutta for Rs. 3-10-0 per maund on payment of a moderate freight insurance, and all other charges including the customs duty. The so-called fair competition allowed by the Government in favour of the imported salt did all the damage to the indigenous salt-trade. Salt produced in Orissa could still compete successfully with the imported variety from Liverpool in the Bengal market inspite of the latter enjoying a more advantageous position than the former. The Orissa produce could have easily maintained itself in the Bengal market and certainly checked the intrusion of foreign salt into the local market. While Liverpool salt was selling as low as Rs. 65 per 100 maunds, the cost price of the Orissa produce upto the year 1860-61 was Rs. 43-12-0, per every hundred maund.¹⁶ In order to obviate any threat to the prospect of the Liverpool salt in Bengal, recourse was taken to raising the price of Orissa salt to the level of the Liverpool variety so that the objective could be easily attained. In this situation, the price of Orissa salt was suddenly raised in 1860-61 to Rs. 62-8-0 per 100 maunds by the Government of India.¹⁷

As the salt of this province reached the Bengal market saddled with the transport and other incidental charges, its price was considerably increased for the consumers. It became costlier than Liverpool salt. As a result Orissa salt was totally displaced from the Bengal market and then gradually from its own local market.

The first consignment of Liverpool salt found its way into Orissa in 1882-83, when 24 maunds of this salt reached Balasore from Calcutta.¹⁸ In the period from 1883 to 1895, the onrush of Liverpool salt into Orissa had put a complete stop to the local manufacture in the year 1895.¹⁹

The salt trade of Orissa was squeezed out of existence by the invasion of Liverpool salt from the north and Ganjam salt from the south. This destruction of the salt-trade produced ruinous effect on the economy of the province and the general welfare of the people. In general, decay, despair and misery stalked the land. The revival of the salt trade would have enabled the province to earn an annual profit of about 10 lakhs of rupees by selling about 20 lakhs maunds of its indigenous salt in the Bengal market. But the demand for revival proved to be a far cry in the wilderness.²⁰ Consequently, resentment was general all over the province and particularly in the district of Balasore. In course of years, the discontentment was manifested in the shape of an agitation against the Government salt policy culminating in the Salt Satyagraha of 1930.

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TRADE AND COMMERCE IN SOUTH ORISSA DURING BRITISH PERIOD

Dandapani Behera

South Orissa in the British period meant South of modern Orissa consisting of the erstwhile undivided districts of Ganjam, Phulbani (Khondmals) and Koraput. As early as in 1571 this region was invaded and occupied by Ibrahim Kutabsahi, Sultan of the Kingdom of Golkonda in the South, and since then it remained under Golkonda till 1687 and under the Mughol Emperor of Delhi and the Nizam of Hyderabad from 1687 till 1753 and under the French from 1753 till 1759, and under the British from 1766 till 1936 in the Madras Presidency and thus it remained in the South of India for over 365 years, being away from the main stream of Orissan Politics, administration and culture, but not of its main stream of trade and commerce. It remained closely knit commercially with the main land Orissa through out the British period.¹

Ganjam and Khondmals were placed in the Srikakulam district and Koraput was placed in the Vizaypatnam district for administrative points of view under the British for some time. The word 'Ganjam' is a Persian one, which means a common market place or a "Granary of the world" in English, and the Kutabshahis of Golkonda named the meeting place of the Rushikulya with the Bay of Bengal by that word as Ganjam. The first British Resident Edward Cotesford carved out a district out of the Srikakulam Northern Sarkar in 1766-67 and called it as Ganjam after the name of that Ganjam on the point of meeting Rushikulya in the sea. The original site of Ganjam grew into a major port town under the Muslim Rule of Golkonda and Hyderabad and subsequently under the British. Incidentally this place became the district headquarters of Ganjam and it served as such till 1815 in which year a devastating epidemic brokeout killing as many as 24,000 out of its total population of 30,000 which resulted in the exodus of the rest 6,000 of people from that place to other places. Even the district headquarters were shifted to the neighbouring Sitarampalli village which subsequently became known as Chhatrapur after the name of Chattras (Alm-houses) built-up in the after math of the Great famine of 1866 for the distribution of alm of charities among the affected people, with all that the commercial importance of Ganjam was shifted to Sitarampalli or Chhatrapur and from there to Gopalpur on-sea, another port-town from where trade relations were maintained with the South Asian countries. Under such circumstances, Berhampur or City of God emerged as the most important trade and culture in the South Orissa for its being located on the main national railway lines, with Hawrah and Madras and on the National Highway number NH-05. Being endowed with such facilities, this town served as a major viable centre of Trade and Commerce in the South Orissa, also as the major gateway between the hills and plains in the matter of trade and business.²

As agriculture was the mainstay of the people of South Orissa, the major products traded by the business classes in the area were agricultural, which included—cash crops like oil-seeds, chilli, grams, sugarcane, Jute, Coconut coir, oil flowers, etc., and food stuffs like rice, barley, mandia (Ragi), fruits, and vegetables. Among its forest produces, (since three-fourth of its areas were covered up with jungles and forests), included timbers, fuels, bamboos, tamarind, turmeric, leaves (Khalli), etc., which were generally marketted in the South Western parts of the country. As the processing facilities were not available in South Orissa, the finished goods like our, oil, grams, and other industrial goods were brought from outside and were marketted in the region.³

Trade from South Orissa in those days under the British to the over seas countries mainly meant such things as silks and Muslim, musk and amber, perfumed oils, lemon, grass and spices, pepper, cinnamon, cardemum and sugar.⁴

Although South Orissa had all the potentialities for industrialisation, due to lack of necessary infrastructural facilities and non-encouraging attitude of the Government, it could not be covered up with a wide network of medium and large scale industrial units, excepting a few ones here and there like

Mirchni's sugar factory in Aska, the Saw Mills in Russellkonda (Bhanjanagar) and tussar silk cottage industry in Berhampur, etc.⁵

As said above, the chief industry in Berhampur was weaving of tussar silk which was manufactured into gold-embroidered turbans, dresses and other articles of wearing apparel. The common native cotton clothes were also woven. Such silken and cotton products of the town were adjudged as excellent products in the Imperial Royal Exhibition held in London in 1866.⁶

The Economic condition in South Orissa under the Alien Rule was highly distressing and deteriorating. It became so as a result of economic and imperial exploitation of the South Orissa by different alien Rule like that of Golkonda, the French and the British. Repeated residence movements broke out in the different parts of the South Orissa against the alien rule from time to time, which were finally ruthlessly suppressed and such situations spelt disaster for the economic subsistence and survival of the people. The Society also fell prey to such situations and became lawless and disordered for good deal of time and forces of disintegration and chaos crept into the social-economic fabric of the region and all sorts of instability and disturbances were visible round the corner. Life became insecure and property looked unsafe. The economic resources like the mineral and forest wealth and the all such other raw material were worst exploited mainly in the interest of the ruler's, but not in the interests of the ruled. The economic viability of the people broke down, letting loose a climate of instability and insecurity in the district. Despite all such unfortunate developments some amount of economic progress took place in the period under review owing to the introduction of new means of transport, communication, road, railways, water ways and the modernisation of agriculture trade, commerce, industry, etc., which found their reflection, in the growth of material and cultural prosperity in and around the district.⁷

In 1854, the Government laid more stress on the trade of native fibre. This was necessitated due to the non-supply of flax and hemp, in the English market. Some specimens of the fibre products of Ganjam were shown in the London exhibition of that year.⁸ The fibre products of the Ganjam forests were given special care and attention, and they were much sought after goods in the national and international markets at that time. But unfortunately the people of Ganjam failed to realise the importance of their native fibre, and had they realised that, it was sure that they could have easily developed their economy to a great extent.⁹

Among the other forest export products of Ganjam included the timbers of various kind of trees such as Saul (*Shorea robusta*), bamboo, dediduous, ravines, mango (*Mangifera Indica*), shajo (*Terminalia tomentosa*), Dhow (*Anogeissus latifolia*), Holondha (*Aidna cordifolia*), Ebony or Kandoo (*Disopyros tomentosa*), the Sattin wood (*Cholorylon Swietenia*), Soymida *fabrifuga*, tamorind, tangany (*Xylia dolabriformis*) and Toon (*Cedrela toona*).¹⁰

The larger river Rushkulya afforded better means of rafting which led to a greater export, as specially, of firewood and saul places¹¹.

The "Coomry" agricultural products of the hill tracts which included dry produce, were exported to the plain lands of the South Orissa. The hill tracts were also in the mainstream of both in landed external trade of South Orissa¹².

The Chief depot for the sale of timber remained at Russellkonda and forest houses were built at Surada and other places in Ganjam in the course of time for marketing timbers. Most of the timbers went in form of sleepers to Calcutta, Aska, Berhampur and Gopalpur¹³.

Among the forest export items included timber, wax, honey, dammar, saul, satinwood, sandal, ebony, bees, myrabolams, turmeric dry grains, cotton, oilseeds, tobacco and etc¹⁴.

The most important among the mineral resources found in the Ganjam forests were the iron ores, limestone, building stone, sand stone, talc; and etc, and they were exported to different parts of the country and the worked from time to time¹⁵.

South Orissa provided a congenial climate for growth and developments of both internal and external trade. There was much scope for trade of all kinds of indigeneous products. But the age old chronic poverty of the people stood on the way of the improvement of the native trade. No native trader was found having considerable influence over the trade of the South Orissa. All rich traders came in from outside and exercised their monopoly hold on the trade of the South Orissa. They grew as an extremely affluent community in the estate at the cost of the well being of its teeming population of the peasants and workers. Almost all the benefits of the earnings of the trade and commerce, both internal and external went straight away to the pockets of the outsiders and foreign monopoly traders, and in no way they benefited the general welfare of the people of South Orissa¹⁶.

The continued tension and unrest compelled the people to frequently leave their homes and hearths for the nearby jungles and neighbouring Zamindaries for temporary stay and settlements. This oft frequented emigrations gave rise to new socio economic crisis pertaining to the ownership of land and agricultural labour. However, the disputes regarding the ownerships of lands were amicably settled with the intervention of the Grama Panchayats (the village Council of Elders)¹⁷.

The agricultural products and food stuffs were either looted or destroyed during the course of military operations by the men of both the parties. The rebels and the government soldiers. At times the hoarded stockpiles of foodstuffs were taken away by force to meet the requirements of the district and local military and civil establishments of the East India Company¹⁸.

In the absence of regular agricultural activities, the peasants, and particularly the labourers suffered a lot of economic hardships. Moreover, there were no industries at work in the districts to provide any regular remunerative wages to the labourers. Neither the Company's Government made any other regular arrangements for providing remunerative wages to the labourers and the peasants with a view to ameliorating their lot. As a result the economic hardship of the people at large kept up ever increasing¹⁹.

Neither the temporary nor the permanent settlements of lands provided any relief to the peasants over their lands under the permanent settlement appeared more controversial than what it had been earlier under the native land revenue system under the Zamindar-Rajas. The introduction of the British land revenue administration in the Zamindaris provided no immediate relief to the peasants and labourers, and rather it added to their misery on a mass scale²⁰.

The peasants or the ryots were required to pay fifty percent of their produce as rent to the Government, and with the rest half of the shared produce it was very difficult on their parts to make their both the ends to meet. The prevalence of the class of the intermediary tenants kept the real tenants deprived of their due shares of produce. And in the consequence they were forced to be reduced to a state of utter poverty and deprivations²¹.

The agrarian population of the South Orissa were never free from exploitation and extortion. Mainly the business community were instrumental for the manifold exploitation of the peasants and labourers. As the peasants could not have safe warehouses for storing their produces, they had to sell them to traders at considerably low prices in in opportune times and suffered heavy losses. The labourers got their wages in kind. As a result, the prices of foodstuffs always remained at a low ebb causing considerable losses to the cultivations. The non-agricultural products were sold at high prices by the traders. The peasants sold their produces at low prices but they purchased the other commercial goods at high prices. As a result, the people remained in a state of economic poverty and backwardness²².

In addition to political and military unrest, the natural calamities like draught, famine and epidemics added to the economic hardships and sufferings of the people. The heavy toll of lives lost in the epidemics of 1815 was one of such glaring example²³.

The Pindaries over ran the district in 1815-16 and caused large scale disturbances through their raids and plunder. This largely added to the economic distress and maladies of the people.²⁴

The Agriculture and irrigation received no favourable attention from the Government till the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The existing sources of irrigation like the dykes, reservoirs, tanks and canals were left uncared for. The cultivation largely remained seasonal. No efforts were made to improve the quality of the land. The principal objective of the Government had been to collect land revenue without paying any heed to the real predicament of the cultivators in the absence of required irrigational sources for water. The land revenue administration of the Company did not at all lay any stress for ameliorating the condition of the cultivators. As a result the cultivators, remained always poor and distressed.²⁵

The need for applying new methods and techniques for improving the quality of agriculture was largely felt everywhere in the district. Keeping this need in view, the Government tried to introduce the cultivation of new crops like wheat and potatoes in the South Orissa. The cultivation of wheat was popularised among the aboriginal Khonds of Darjigibadi of the Malish hill tracts of Khondmals of Ghumsur.²⁶

Agriculture was the chief source of the economy of the South Orissa. The agricultural products were the main items of trade and commerce. Non-agricultural goods were also included among the commercial articles. No due attention was given to the industrialisation of the economy. There was absence of industries as they lacked in popular and governmental support and assistance. Agriculture received the lion's share of the Governmental patronage. This was also due to the fact that the cultivable lands were available for purchase and possession at cheaper price and rent and that made the people to invest their savings in the purchase of lands than for investing the same in industrial production.²⁷

The trade and commerce remained at a low ebb. It was due to several factors like the absence of good roads and other systems of communications like the water routes and railways. The trade could not be expanded to other parts of the South Orissa and the country. Most of the trade and traffic were carried on roads, with the help of bullocks, asses and other animals. Wheeled carriages were hardly used for the purpose of trade. The Brinjarriis (traders) from Nagpur, a Maratha state, were found engaged in the markets of South Orissa. They made business mainly on salt. They traversed to South Orissa enroute Boudh, Chakepad and Sambalpur for doing trade in the markets of the South Orissa.

The trade was generally done with the help of barter. Coins were rarely used in the markets. Salt and spices were imported into South Orissa in exchange of the export of its grains and forest products.²⁸

Custom duties were collected from the inland commercial goods among which included grains, salt, spices, forest products, cattle and other necessary articles of daily use. These customs duties were called "sayer" which constituted a potential source of the state revenue. Another equally important tax called "Moturpha" was collected from the house tax (Gharakara); taxes were imposed on the use of agricultural implements, looms, professional crafts and caste professions and privileges. The percent of the total cost of goods was charged as state tax from all the commercial goods which were carried out of South Orissa to different parts of Orissa. A duty of 2 rupees 7 annas 0 paise, was collected from each carriage of commercial goods that came into and went from South Orissa.²⁹

There were some reductions in the duties levied on rice, paddy and other essential articles. The Government collected export duties, as well as the duties from the river anchorage at

different ferry places on the rivers of South Orissa. Duties were realised from the freight of goods carried on the river, peddy, rice, coarse grain, cloth, wax silk cloth and forest products were boated on the river. The Company collected custom duty at 3-3/4% of the total price of the articles boated on the rivers, and in certain cases customs were collected from the total weightage of the goods. Customs were collected from the all export articles boated out from the South Orissa. The Government also collected "Metapescha]" or the "land custom" on all articles either exported from or imported into South Orissa on roads and highways.³⁰

No customs duties were paid on purchase of goods for Company's consumption and use. Goods for Company's use were declared duty free on the basis of certificates issued to that effect. Also no duties were paid on the sale of goods belonging to the Company, Such commercial privileges, and facilities were enjoyed by the Company all through the period under review.³¹

South Orissa during the British period presented a picture of herself as an India in miniature by being the nerve centre of trade and commerce of not only of Orissa but of the country as a whole. It's being a grant reservoir of vast unexplored natural wealth, it was bound to play an inevitably vital role in the varied economic activities of South Eastern and Western India in a major way all through the period, and the ramification and reflection of which were found in the life style and culture of the local people, in manifold ways and dimensions. And as such the region of South Orissa has carved out a special place of pride and importance in the annal of Orissan and Indian history and culture and commerce, during the British period.

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REVISITING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY ECONOMY OF ORISSA : SOME SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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British rule in Orissa, like elsewhere in India, brought significant structural and substantial changes to the socio-economic fabric, but these changes were not always compatible with Oriya interests and progress of Orissa. This is why the dynamics of socio-economic changes in Orissa were produced as much by British policies as by the dialectical confrontation between Oriya interests and the demands of the British colonial state. The peculiarities of the colonial state and its specific demands for sustenance and survival make it a potent agent of change of the colonial society and economy. In the case of Orissa, the colonial structure of the state was so arranged as to unleash change in the socio-economic physiognomy. This paper aims at discovering the interconnectedness of these changes, and their implications on the immediate socio-political context of Orissa *vis-a-vis* Oriya interests.

Suffering from a general tendency to essentialise Orissa and Oriyas, colonial discourse and historiography on Orissa treat these changes as the logical corollary of the 'civilizing mission' of the British. In the scheme of this sort of writings, such essentialisations became a ready-made apology for initiating changes in the socio-economic fabric of Orissa. Hunter, for example, condemning the pre-British Orissa and Oriyas, described the region as constantly hit by 'invasion and military occupations' and as 'traditional asylum of revolt' during last four centuries. He also saw Oriyas as the most 'orthodox and ignorant' people of India.² But then, according to Hunter, the situation changed with the British occupation of Orissa: Orissa lapsed into the most peaceful part of the British empire, and roads, embankments, canals, and improved harbour communication combined with good government and absolute protection of person and property 'trebled the wealth of Orissa and doubled its population under British rule.'³ Such stereotypical images of Orissa and Oriyas as portrayed in colonial writings, invoke British rule as panacea, and presuppose that the changes in the socio-economic fabric of Orissa were part of a 'civilizing mission', benevolent and conducive to the growth of modern Orissa.

The British official orthodoxy about Orissa and Oriyas, and the resultant discourse ignore the 'historical situation' that developed in Orissa under the compulsions of a colonial state. The purpose of this article is to analyse this situation, in its totality, that is to identify different changes and their interconnectedness.

In the first part of the 19th century, during the period when the British were consolidating their administration in Orissa, a gradual but systematic process of depriving and peripheralising the Oriya community set in. This process was initiated in all branches of the economy of Orissa. In the land revenue administration, frequent settlements up to 1837 created instability and uncertainty in revenue arrangement as with each settlement, revenue demand increased. According to the Cambridge Economic History of India, in Orissa compared with the last twelve years of the Maratha rule from 1791—1802, the land revenue income of the Company in 1804-05 increased by about 12 per cent and between 1805-97, occurred a further increase of 93%. The Oriya zamindars and the land proprietors ran into heavy annual arrears. The Company made settlements each time without any consideration of actual state of cultivation and the condition of the people. This carelessness and callousness of the Company Government was even commented by G. Toynbee who advocated for some consideration in the land revenue administration so that the interests of all the involved parties, the proprietors, the Company Government and the cultivators could be protected.⁵ Instead, Toynbee observed, the British revenue officials treated the Oriya proprietors as Bengali zamindars, and were determined to make them whenever possible 'punctual in the matter of payment of their revenue'.⁶ The estates of the defaulting zamindars were sold out. The estates below jama of

Rs. 5,000 were sold at Cuttack Collectorate, while those above Rs. 5,000 jama were sold at the office of the Secretary to the Board Revenue in Calcutta. The underlying idea behind this arrangement was that Oriyas were in want of capital and were unwilling to speculate, while Bengalis with abundant capital were heavy speculators and so were likely to bid the highest price. The arrangement had the desired effect as the monied Bengalis purchased the estates and Oriyas could not go to Calcutta because of the distance and expenses involved. Within a period of ten years, 1806—16, the number of defaulting estates sold amounted to 1,011, and of these, 350 were purchased by foreigners while 235 estates were purchased by the persons holding official situations.⁷ Out of 2,340 Oriya proprietors whose names were registered in the first settlement of 1804 for payment of revenue in Cuttack only, 1,449 names remained at the end of 1816.⁸ Thus, in the process, two-thirds of the original Oriya proprietors were dispossessed and ruined.

The initial land revenue arrangement with its fixity of state demand had negative impact on the whole socio-economic fabric of Orissa. On the ruins of the original Oriya landholders, developed a class of absentee landlords who were mostly Bengali monied men and the officials of the courts. They seldom or never visited their estates, but entrusted their management to agents who were unfamiliar with Orissa and Oriyas. Socially, it had two important consequences. Firstly, many Bengalis migrated to Orissa and settled here. Secondly, the Bengali zamindars and their agents, being ignorant of local conditions tried to extract as much as possible from the cultivators. On the other hand the surviving Oriya zamindars were generally neither rich nor provident. They imposed heavy rent on the cultivators to meet the Company's revenue demand. According to the report of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the Famine of 1866, the old Oriya zaminda's never cared for the ryots or the land, and they imposed exorbitant interest on the roots.⁹ On the other hand, the new absentee proprietors, though a superior and educated class, did not have idea of practical improvement of the soil, and failed to act as patriarchal landholders.¹⁰

Thus, the landed aristocracy of Orissa because of the inherent defects in the system, failed to play any role in the development of Orissa. On the other hand, the Oriya peasantry had to bear the brunt, and were increasingly impoverished. The landlords, facing a large increase in the revenue demand, were eager to recover part of this from the ryots who were forced to pay higher rents. In 1837, a long-term settlement for 30 years was introduced, and it was preceded by a survey and a detailed enquiry into the validity of all privileged tenancies. The authorities became more sensitive and rational in their revenue administration. This settlement remained in force up to 1897 as it could not be renewed due to the Famine of 1866. The settlement of 1897 fixed the rents of all classes of tenants on the basis of certain principles. The rents assessed at the settlement of 1897 stood at Rs. 38,67,000 which increased by 13% during the settlement period.

The British agrarian policy in the 19th century became gradually rational though it primarily meant to serve the colonial interests. In the zamindari areas, the peasants were left to the mercies of the zamindars who raised rents to unbearable limits and compelled them to pay illegal dues and perform forced labour and exploited them in various ways. The demerits of the agrarian policy contributed to the gradual ruination of the Oriya peasantry. They became victims of 'deprivation' as a result of lop-sided colonial policy. A vast multitude of the Oriya population thus, became permanently a socially disadvantaged group.

As already mentioned, the colonial agrarian policy in the early 19th century Orissa resulted in the emigration of a great number of Bengalis into Orissa. The British also brought a large number of Bengalis Amlas immediately after the conquest of Orissa, because of their knowledge of British administration, specially about revenue accounts. Needless to mention that though many of the Bengalis misused their positions and acted against the Oriya interests, some of them played very vital role in the development of Orissa.

Besides land revenue, the economic base of Orissa underwent rapid changes under the impact of the British policies. The standard currency of Orissa, cowree (conch-shell) depreciated on the declaration that it would no longer, after the expiry of the day of grace in 1808, be received in payment of revenue at the Government treasury. It would be replaced by sicca rupees. Up to 1810, there was no wide variation in the rate of exchange between silver coins and cowrees, one reason being the influx of silver. Thereafter, cowree began to fall. The value of sicca rupees rose. As only sicca rupees were received in payment of revenue and more than two-thirds of the amount were carried away out of Orissa, silver became so scarce that it was to be procured at an advance of from 70 to 80 per cent on the exchange value originally fixed by the Government.¹¹ All these pushed upwards the prices of essential commodities. The rupees fetched less and less quantity of goods even though a rupee purchased 3,584 cowrees around 1870¹². For example, in the town of Balasore, in 1850 the best unhusked paddy sold at 168 pounds per rupee, and in 1870, at 84 pounds; fine cleaned rice was 100 pounds per rupee in 1850-80 pounds in 1860 and 40 in 1870¹³. Even, according to the Famine Commission of 1866, it was evident that in Orissa in 1866, the pressure of prices both actual and comparative was very much more severe than in the North-Western Provinces in 1837-38 during the time of famine¹⁴.

The depreciation of cowrees also adversely affected the landed class, both the zamindars and the ryots. The zamindars complained of the heavy loss they incurred at the high rate at which they received rupees from their ryots and at the low rate they paid them into the Company's treasury. The zamindars had to borrow money at high interest from the shroffs who charged high rate for exchange of cowrees because of scarcity of silver. The ryots and the common people also suffered from the depreciation of cowrees. The collector W. Trower pointed out that if a ryot engaged for rupees 40-45 for his land, he was to sell his produce for 280 kahans in order to get the amount of rupees 40-45 though according to the Government rate of exchange, rupees 40-45 would be equivalent to 162 kahans. Thus, the ryot used to lose 23 kahan of cowrees in exchange, amounting to ultimate desertion of the estate. Under this situation, the zamindars were obliged to let out the lands to the Pahi ryots, the non-resident cultivators at reduced rates. Even sometimes, the zamindars forced their under-tenants to pay them the cowrees at the same rate for the rupee, which they had to pay to the shroffs.

In the 19th century, the economic deterioration of Orissa was accelerated by the gradual decline of trade and the high-handed salt policy of the British. The trades in textiles, handicrafts and others were reduced to a minimum and the famous filigree works, bell-metal industry, stone, wood and chalk carvings, horn-works and handloom industries, gradually languished without patronage. Export from Orissa also gradually declined. For example, the calicoes of Balasore, Bhadrak and Hariharapore once so prized in Europe, lost their market in the face stiff competition with the European clothes. The inflow of Lancashire products virtually crippled the cloth industry of Orissa.

One of the most visible-affected areas under the colonial system was the salt industry. As an established industry in the coastal districts, Orissa used to export more than 9 lakhs of maunds of salt annually during the closing years of the Maratha rule. But with the conquest of Orissa, the Company Government reserved the exclusive privilege of manufacturing salt as a source of public revenue. In 1814, the salt monopoly was extended throughout Orissa, and this deprived many people of the petty, but profitable business of salt manufacture. The free use of salt was also restricted, and the people had to pay dearly for an article of almost indispensable necessity. But ironically, the Government-manufacture of salt was found to be really not profitable the cost of salt was greater than of that made on the Madras coast, and so that imported salt drove out the indigenously-produced salt from the market. So finally the Government manufacture of salt had to be wholly discontinued in 1863, and the Salt

Department of Orissa was transferred to the administrative control of Madras. This transfer spelt out economic ruin and disaster for thousands of molunghees or salt manufacturers of Orissa. Being thrown out of their traditional profession, they joined the class of agricultural labourers. Nearly, 40 thousand people who depended on salt industry were affected by its destruction.

Like elsewhere in India, agriculture in Orissa was over-burdened as thousands of rural and urban handicraftsmen and artisans turned to land after losing their traditional livelihood. It resulted in subdivision of land and its fragmentation. The amount of land available to each cultivator declined, or in other words, the land holdings became progressively more and more uneconomic.

Any discussion on the 19th century economy of Orissa would remain incomplete without a reference to the Great Famine of 1866. It resulted as much from natural causes as from the colonial economic policies. The Famine took a heavy toll of life; about a third of the population or nearly one million people perished. The disastrous consequences of the Famine shook the skeleton of Orissa. But at the same time, the positive effects of the Famine cannot be ignored. The British Government realized the lacunae of the administrative and economic arrangements in Orissa, and openly admitted their responsibility for the Famine. The pronouncements of Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons may be taken as spring board of changes in policy and attitude of the British towards Orissa. But the subsequent changes brought in land revenue system, and improvements in irrigation facilities and communication system may not be overemphasized. Their colonial underpinnings were clearly manifest. The "economic wrongs" so far inflicted on Oriyas, were not removed though the Government became more rational and sympathetic in their approach and treatment to Oriyas. We have already seen it in the case of land revenue arrangement. Though the rights of tenants and ryots were honoured and protected by various means like the Bengal Tenancy Act, the peasants continued to suffer. The irrigation facilities extended to protect the cultivation against drought were not sufficient. The Government did not pay attention to the problem of floods that frequently visited Orissa, causing great damage to agriculture. The frequent crop failures on accounts of flood and drought drove the ryots and peasants to the debt-trap of Mahajans or money-lenders who exploited their economic helplessness with the thoroughness of the traditional Shylock.

A direct impact of the Famine of 1866 was on the development of communication system in Orissa. Communication in the early part of the 19th century were very backward, and Orissa was almost physically isolated from the rest of India. One of the important causes of the Famine of 1866 was the lack of good means of communication. The Famine Commission of 1866 realized it, and strongly recommended for efficient means of communication as the best means of preventing any famine in future. So though scarce, the communication system in Orissa came to be improved by the provision of access by sea at the False Point and the Dhamra river. The railways passing through Orissa from north to south connected it with Calcutta and Madras. After 1866, there were advance in road construction; 91 miles of provincial roads were maintained by the Public Works Department, and 369 miles of road maintained by the District Boards¹⁵. There were three main provincial roads i.e., Orissa Trunk Road running from Midnapore to Ganjam touching Cuttack and Puri, the Cuttack-Sonepur road along the Mahanadi valley, and the Cuttack-Sambalpur road also passing up the Mahanadi valley.¹⁶ In a colonial state like India, the socio-economic and political significance of the communication can not be denied. Different parts of Orissa came to be integrated and the mobility of the people increased. Orissa came to be linked with the outside world with the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur railway during the closing years of the 19th century. It ran through Orissa for 230 miles, directly linking Calcutta and Madras with Orissa. A branch line

took off from Khurda road station connecting to Puri. Developed means of communication facilitated the transport of commodities and prevented the reoccurrence of a famine of 1866 dimension. The most effective social consequence was that the locomotive, traversing a big physical distance, helped in removing social distance. The people could easily travel from one part of Orissa to the other. This was really felt when the political movement in Orissa was organised. The leaders and the people could easily assemble because of their fast mobility. The Utkal Sammilani could not have been organised on an all Orissa basis but for the facilities provided by the developed communication system.

The 19th century economy of Orissa, though in no way my account is exhaustive, reveals both progressive and regressive aspects of the Oriya economy. But it does not explain the arising "historical situation" of the 19th century Orissa unless it is contextualised with its immediate socio-political setting. But I have already indicated that the economic changes under the colonial compulsions had fall-out on socio-political sphere.

The contemporary Oriya literature, particularly that of Fakirmohan Senapati (1843-1918), reflects the realities of the Oriya society arising out of the social consequences of the colonial economic arrangements. His two novels, "Chhamana Athaguntha" (1897-99) and "Mamu" (1913) dwell on this aspect, and may be taken as authentic literary sources for the period of our study. The economy-society symbiosis and its peculiarities *vis-a-vis* the 19th century Oriya agrarian society are symbolised in these two novels through incidents and characters. In "Chhamana Athaguntha", the main character Ramachandra Mangaraj, originally a pauper, has taken the advantage of the new land revenue system, and became a new zamindar. Similarly, in "Mamu" Natabara Das, a Nazarat in the Cuttack Collectorate, has appropriated the estate of his sister, by twisting the existing legal system in his favour. Both Ramachandra and Natabara are the anti-heroes who succumb to the pressure of the changing dynamics of the Oriya society. In consequence, Ramachandra Mangaraj has turned out to be a land-grabber, ultimately causing his own death and ruination of a rustic couple. On the other hand, Natabara Das, in "Mamu" has been virtually the owner of his sister's estate, and exploited and looted the farmers. But finally, he is punished by law. Ramachandra and Natabara symbolise the evil consequences of colonial economic arrangements on the traditional Oriya society.

A blatant social consequence of the new economic arrangement was the emigration from Orissa. The widespread poverty among the rural people, and the lack of industrial progress and opportunities compelled many Oriyas to emigrate to Bengal, Jamshedpur-Tata, Burma, etc. They were employed there for menial works like that of domestic servant, collier, etc., However, the emigrant Oriyas established themselves as hard workers. Maddox, in his report praises the emigrant Oriyas who as domestic servants, peons and coolies outside Orissa had reputation for good and hard work¹⁷. Many sensitive Oriya minds of the time like the poetess Kuntala Kumari Sabat (1900-38) have expressed deep anguish and sorrow at the Oriyas working outside as coolies and servants. In many of her poems, she has persuaded the emigrant Oriyas to come back to own motherland and live here with honour and dignity¹⁸. The question of Oriya emigration is yet to be systematically studied in an historical perspective. As far I know, there is only one such work by Dr. Krushna Chandra Bhuyan whose thesis, 'Unnabinsa Satabdira Kalikatare Odia' or Oriyas in the 19th century Calcutta, has been published in 1990.

The economic changes in the 19th century Orissa had direct bearing on the political developments in the later half of the 19th century. The plight of the people arising out of these changes made the emerging educated Oriya middle class conscious of their rights and interests. Added to it, the predominance of the Bengalis and the Telugus in Orissa narrowed down the economic scope of the Oriyas who

had very limited job opportunities. The Oriyas became virtually 'deprived' and 'marginalised' in their own homeland. It gave rise to a sort of consciousness, the 'we-feeling' of the Oriyas. They felt the necessity of protecting their interests, their rights and their culture. The Commissioner of Orissa, H.G. Cooke could catch the prevailing mood of the Oriyas, and informed the Government of Bengal that the spirit of Monroe doctrine existed and gathered force in Orissa.¹⁹ The importance to the Oriyas of enabling them to hold their own against foreign competition possessed almost a political character; Cooke observed that "they did not identify themselves with the inhabitants of Bengal, and were desirous of qualifying themselves for service in their own country".²⁰ Such a consciousness which finally led to the growth of Oriya movement drew on from the Oriyas' collective predicament of territorial vivisection. Being tagged to at least four provinces and divisions, Bengal, Madras, Central provinces and Chhotanagpur division, the Oriya speaking tracts were kept fragmented. This made Oriyas vulnerable to economic and cultural subordination, and even exploitation by the majorities of these administrative zones where they were minorities. Awareness of their peripheralisation led to the reactionary feelings among the Oriyas that Orissa belonged to the Oriyas and the Oriyas must get their 'due' in their homeland.

This awareness or consciousness got its political manifestation in the form of the Oriya movement, aimed at amelioration of the conditions of the 'deprived' and 'peripheralised' Oriyas. Associations like Utkal Bhasaunnati Sabha (1866) at Balasore, Utkal Bhasoddipani Sabha (1873) at Cuttack and Utkal Hitaisini Samaj (1889) at Ganjam made initial attempts to articulate the emerging Oriya consciousness, and to protect and enhance the Oriya interests. The most important Oriya organisation of the late 19th century was Oriya Association (1882) which had the objective of discussing political and other matters affecting Orissa. But it was the Utkal Sammilani (Utkal Union Conference) established in 1903, which spearheaded the Oriya movement with its main objective of amalgamating the Oriyas speaking tracts and working for the all round development of the Oriyas. The Sammilani came to symbolise the protest of the 'deprived' and 'peripheralised' Oriyas against the 'wrongs' inflicted on them under the colonial rule. The economic undoings of the British came to be addressed by the Sammilani. In the inaugural session of the Sammilani, a resolution to the effect of industrial development of Orissa was adopted. The great Oriya leader, Madhusudan Das laid stress on the economic development of Orissa, and wanted the Sammilani to play a vital role in it. Perhaps that is why, Madhubabu's 'Silponnati Sabha' established in 1900 for the industrial development of Orissa, was integrated to the Utkal Sammilani in 1903.²¹ In the early stage of its evolution, the Sammilani undertook the schemes of training the cultivators and weavers in modern techniques and mechanical skills, and the development of leather industry in Orissa. Thus, the economic redressal of Orissa was made one of the major planks of the Sammilani. The economic issue became a powerful political force for mobilisation of the Oriyas for a united stand to protect their interests.

The 'historical situation' of the 19th century Orissa that grew out of the interconnectedness of the changes in the economic, political and social spheres, determined the trends of the events that took place afterwards. The economic situation of the 19th century Orissa coupled with its attendant socio-political implications promoted the Oriya movement of the 20th century. In the Orissa, Gurjat states too, the Prajamandal movement was the direct product of the economic evils like increase in land revenues, bethi system (forced labour), extraction of money by officials, etc. Popular movements in the states of Nilgiri, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Ranpur, etc., may be seen essentially as political mobilisation resulting from the economic consequences.

The present paper does not deny the role of cultural factors like the language controversy of the 1860, and the growth of the new Oriya literature, in the emergence of the Oriya movement. Though a detailed discussion on these issues is beyond the purview of this paper, it may be pointed out here that their material basis was provided by the colonial policies. The educated Oriya middle class which was involved in these cultural issues was the product of the new economic and social arrangements under the colonialism-imperialism. The dialectical confrontation between the interests of this 'middle

class and the colonial state got translated into language controversy. And the new Oriya literature that started with Fakir Mohan Senapati and Radhanath Ray reflected this confrontation, and became a medium of asserting the uniqueness and separateness of 'Oriya.'

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COMMUNICATION AND TRADE IN BRITISH ORISSA, 1900—1947

J. K. Samal

The present paper aims at presenting an objective profile of the communication and trade in Orissa during the period, 1900—1947. This paper which is confined to the study of communication and trade in six British districts (Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Ganjam, Koraput and Sambalpur) is mainly based on primary sources consulted in the Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.

Orissa was almost totally isolated from the rest of India till 1866. The means of communications were developed, following the recommendations of the famine commission of 1866. The growth of local Self-Government, establishment of political associations like Utkal Sabha and emergence of national movement for freedom and Utkal Union movement for the unification of Oriya-speaking areas provided considerable impetus to the development of means of communication and transport after 1900. The growth of communications and transport and the establishment of markets in central places provided further stimulus to internal and external trade. But as the Oriyas lacked resources and enterprise, the major portion of the export and import trade was controlled by the outsiders.

In 1947, Orissa lagged far behind the neighbouring provinces in the sphere of communication and trade. The most important factor behind the retardation of economic growth of Orissa during the colonial rule was the fragmentation of Oriya-speaking areas. As a result of being parcelled out into three parts and the merger of each with a separate ethnic bloc, the identity of Orissa was altogether lost and its people were treated as minorities whose interests could be easily ignored by administrators. Hence, like other economic activities communications and trade received step-motherly treatment.

Roads

In the beginning of the 19th century, there was not a single road in Orissa in the modern sense of the word. What were then called roads were mere fair-weather cart-tracks without bridges and proper ferry arrangements.

The grand trunk road which ran through the province afforded communication with Midnapur and Calcutta in the north, and with Ganjam in the south. It was rebuilt by Capt. C. Sackville between 1812—1820. The metalling of this road was not done properly. Due to this fact and the cutting down of the budget provision for maintenance of road, it had rapidly fallen to disrepair. Between Balasore and Puri where the traffic was heaviest, it was in places almost impossible for carts during the rains.

The grave deficiency of communications which still existed as late as 1866 was made apparent in the great Orissa Famine, when it was said that "the people were shut in between pathless jungles and impracticable seas, and were like passengers in a ship without provisions."¹ After the famine British authority felt the urgent need for taking positive steps for developing road system in Orissa in order to make the repetition the calamity of 1866 impossible in future.

The factor which gave great impetus to the development of road system was the formation of local bodies like District Boards and local boards after 1882. One of main functions of these local bodies was management and construction of the roads in the rural areas.

With the growth of nationalistic political consciousness among the Oriyas, the British Government became more alert about the grievances of the people. In the early part of the 20th century, Orissa produced two national figures named, Madhusudan Das and Gopabandhu Das. Their contributions to the making of modern Orissa are many-sided. They demanded inside the legislature and outside it, introduction of modern improvements in civil life. The Government could no longer afford to ignore it.

The construction of new roads and the improvement of existing roads were carried on as the funds permitted. By 1947 Orissa got vitally required roads. The roads could be classified under three categories, namely, metal roads, unmetalled roads and village roads.

Some roads of importance which might be regarded as provincial roads were Grand Trunk Road, Cuttack-Sonepur Road, and Cuttack-Sambalpur Road. The Grand Trunk Road which was the highway from Midnapur in Bengal to Ganjam in Madras presidency was metalled and crossed the Baitarani, Kharshua, Brahmani, Mahanadi and Rushikulya rivers by ferries. The other two provincial roads which ran through the valley of Mahanadi were mostly unmetalled. The most important trade routes were Cuttack-Khurda road, Pipil-Khurda road, Bhadrak-Chandbali road, Sambalpur-Raipur road and Sambalpur-Jharsuguda road. The surplus produce of rice of the four districts (Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Sambalpur) were sent for export through these roads.³

Internal communications were, on the whole, far from satisfactory. Most of the roads were fair-weather roads, impossible for cart traffic in the rain. There were still many villages accessible only to pack-bullocks and many only by boats in the rainy season.

The Koraput district was most unfavourably placed in respect of road communication with the rest of the province. The only practicable route was down the Ghat to Salur and thence up the trunk road from Vizianagaram to Berhampur, a journey of 208 miles, almost entirely over Madras roads. Many felt the need to find a means of communication which did not involve a long journey through another province.³

It can be said without shadow of doubt that all weather roads of Orissa were less than one-third of the total roads at the end of the British rule. Many necessary bridges were not constructed. Due to very limited expansion of metalled roads, mechanised vehicles that were plying were too insufficient to meet the needs of the people. The rulers, zamindars and other aristocrats used palanquins, horses and elephants as conveyance. Common people depended to a large extent on bullockcarts, bhara and pack-bullocks for the purpose of transport.⁴

Railways:

The primary motive behind undertaking the construction of rail-lines was to connect Orissa with the major ports of Orissa like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In due course, the existence of plenty of natural resources in Orissa attracted the attention of the British as well as of Indian capitalists. Hence, the construction of railways was considered essential to undertake the exploitation of natural resources of Orissa on an extensive scale.

The Himgiri-Rampur Coal Co. Ltd. and the Tata Iron and Steel Company had undertaken the exploitation of the mineral wealth of Orissa. The supply of laurel wood from Orissa to London continued. The bamboo forests of Angul continued to supply materials for the Talcher Match Works and Orient Paper Mill Company at Brajaraj Nagar. The growing demand for the valuable natural resources of Orissa facilitated the construction of railways in Orissa.⁵

A real revolution in the field of communication came with the opening of the Bengal Nagpur railway during the closing years of 19th century. It ran through Orissa, supplying direct connection between Calcutta and Madras. A branch line took off from Khurda road station to Puri, the city of lord Jagannath. By 1904, a railway connecting Baripada the principal town of the tributary state of Mayurbhanj with Rupsa Station of the Bengal-Nagpur railway was opened. The line was constructed by the Chief of Mayurbhanj and was worked for him by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company.⁶ The main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway traversed the north of the Sambalpur Sub division for a length of about 30 miles. From Jharsuguda, a branch line ran to Sambalpur.⁷

There was also a narrow gauge line running from Naupada on the South-Eastern Railway up to Gunpur. This was known as Parlakhemundi Light Railway (2½ feet gauge). The Raipur Vizianagaram branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway (broad gauge) traversed the Rayagada Sub-division of Koraput district. The line was opened for traffic in 1932.⁸

The extension of the Railway line from Baripada to Talbandh and further extension up to Badampahar Iron Mines were made during the period from 1915 to 1922. They were opened to traffic in 1920 and 1922 respectively. A broad-gauge line was constructed from Kalimaṭi Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to the foot of the Gorumahisani hill in the Mayurbhanj State to transport the iron ore for the steel works to be erected of the former place.⁹

The Talcher Coal Field Railway extending from the Nirgundi Station of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway up to the princely State of Talcher was opened in 1927. It was laid primarily on account of the Talcher Coal Fields.

There were 1,472 Kms. of railways in Orissa in 1947. These railway lines cut across the east coast and western part of Orissa without making any dent into the interior. The major portion of the import and export trade of Orissa was carried on through railways after 1899. The rail lines helped the people of coastal Orissa to migrate to Calcutta for work; this in a way reduced the availability of work force in the State, adversely affecting its agricultural activities.

Till the opening of railways export and import trade was carried on by the ships and vessels through the ports. Some British officers urged that these railway lines could not compete successfully with ships and vessels in the rice export traffic unless branch feeder lines were extended into the rice growing areas.

There was increasing demand that different parts of Orissa might be linked up by several more railway lines as the existing lines were too inadequate. Immense significance of railway lines as an instrument of general progress was more and more emphasised. Madhusudan Das, moved resolution in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in 1913 that necessary measures be adopted for the construction of a new railway line to improve the communication between Orissa, Chotanagpur and Patna, the capital of the new province of Bihar and Orissa. On the necessity of extension of railway communication for developing the resources of Orissa Madhusudan Das, stated.¹⁰

"And not only do railways promote trade but they serve the purpose of circulation; and what circulation of blood is to the system, that railways are to the prosperity and growth of a country. If a part of the body does not share in the circulation, of course that part suffers from atrophy or paralysis; so also if the two parts of a country are not connected by communication, the result is that one part must suffer. I am not pleading, Sir, for the baby province, because all its fathers have conspired to throw it overboard; if opened out its resources will improve, and that is certainly a sufficient inducement to Government. We know that the Feudatory States of Orissa have not been touched. We know also that there are mines there. I was very glad to notice from the speech made by the Hon'ble Sir T. Wynne that some of the Chiefs of India have come forward with large sums to improve railway communications in their States. If that part of the country be opened up, I have no doubt that the chiefs will contribute, at least so far as that portion of the railway line which lies within their territories is concerned. I am certain they would guarantee a certain percentage of dividend on the capital spent on that portion of the line which would pass through their States."

Navigation:

The main rivers of Orissa, i. e. Subarnarekha, Dhamra, Salandi, Baitarani, Brahmani, Mahanadi, Kathjori, Kusbhadra, Bhargabi and Daya were navigable for several months of the year. In the interior there was a considerable amount of traffic along the rivers during the rains, But in the hot

weather they all ceased to be navigable except for more than a few miles above their mouth. There was a fair amount of traffic in tidal water in Balasore district. The Daya and the Bhargavi in the Puri district were usually navigable throughout the year. Even in the hot weather country boats might be seen along their bank for at least ten miles above the point where they entered the Chilika. The boats belonged chiefly to Ganjam traders who brought loads of bamboos and other goods and in return carried off the surplus rice of the Southern parganas.¹¹

The river Mahanadi was the main outlet for the trade of the Sambalpur district. The boat transport was still carried on as far as Sonpur. But since the opening of railways, river-borne trade with Cuttack had greatly diminished.

On the whole, the river-borne trade was riddled with various problems. In the first place, it was mostly seasonal being only confined to monsoon months. Secondly, during the rains, the rivers became dangerous for navigation owing to the high floods they brought down. Thirdly, some rivers were too shallow or too uncertain to be largely used for navigation. Fourthly, the goods handled by water transport were bulky, nonperishable, and of low value. They were mostly building materials cereals and forest products.

The coast canal was very useful only from the point of view of navigation. The coast canal connected the river Hughli at Geankhali with the river Matai at Charabatia. It had a length of 71 miles in Balasore district and run along the sea face at a distance varying between 2 and 10 miles from the coast. The canal was partially opened on 15th July 1885 and entirely in September 1887, the work having commenced in the year 1880. The cost was originally estimated at 36 lakhs, but this sum was considerably exceeded and by 1894 nearly 45 lakhs had been spent.

The canal being fed by tidal waters, was of no use for purposes of irrigation, and was not constructed with that intention. It did not, therefore, benefit agriculture. Its use as a famine protection scheme was the primary motive for its construction. After the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, the number of passengers carried by the steamer service had decreased from 1,04,000 in 1893-94 to 41,000 in 1897-98 and the receipts in tollage from this source also showed a steady decline. Hence it was proposed to abandon Orissa Coast Canal System. But it continued to help small traders and businessmen in their commercial enterprise over a large area.

Two Companies used to maintain a steamer service along the coast canal between Balasore and Chandbali; and there was a bi-weekly steamer transport service under the control of the public Works Department along the High Level canal between Bhadrak and Cuttack. But with the opening of the railway, passengers ceased to use the former route, and the merchants abandoned the latter means of transport. These steamer services had consequently been discontinued. Traffic along these canals was then confined to country boats, and their number had increased owing to the competition of the railway.¹²

The canals were very useful in carrying on export trade. The Kendrapara and Gobri extension canals connected Cuttack with the Brahmani at Alba, and from there boats went down the river to Chandbali, where cargo was transhipped and carried by steamer to Calcutta. The Taldanda canal between the Mahanadi and Kathjuri rivers connected Cuttack with False Point, from which rice was shipped chiefly to the Mauritius. The High Level Canal supplied a direct route between the marts of Cuttack and Bhadrak.¹³

Ports :

In 1866 Orissa did not contain a single harbour capable of sheltering ship of any size. No port offered a secure anchorage during the monsoon. In the same season ships or steamers could not land cargoes on its surf-besten shore. Further great difficulty was experienced in loading and unloading ships and steamers. Due to the absence of good harbours, rice could not be imported into Orissa on a large scale to meet the needs of the famine-stricken people. Even then after 1866 the British authorities did not bother seriously about the development of ports.

The establishment of Chandbali port in Balasore district in 1870 is noteworthy. This was due to the enterprise of Captain Macneil and strong determination of T. E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Orissa for discovering a suitable site for a port. Chandbali was found to combine the advantages of high position free from all risks of inundation, and sufficient depth of water in immediate proximity to the river mouth. With the acquisition of an area of 179 acres by the Government the Chandbali port was founded. Chandbali port lay on the north bank of the Baitarani river, some 8 miles west of its confluence with the Brahmani and 20 miles from the mouth. It was connected with the interior by the river Matai, the Bhadrak road, and various tidal creeks.

The silting of the river mouths and lack of proper care of the ports proved fatal to the stability of the ports of Orissa. The construction of coast canal facilitated the silting of the Balasore ports although it provided new waterways. While some of the ports had ceased to exist, position of others had been changed. In the beginning of the 20th century, Puri, False Point, Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur were still used for the purpose of importation and exportation. But they were maintained at loss.¹⁴

Puri was nominally a port, because it was very shallow and steamers could not approach it within a distance of some miles. It could never serve the commercial purpose which a port was naturally meant to do.

False Point was used in former days very largely, but unfortunately the sea receded there towards the east. As a matter of fact it was used in those days when there was no other communication between Orissa and the outside world. In rough weather steamers could not go near False Point. They had to anchor at a very considerable distance as it was impossible for these steamers to unload and load their contents there. Consequently, for all commercial purposes, the port lost much of its utility. S.L. Maddox wrote: "As late as 1866, the export trade was carried on from False Point at the mouth of the Mahanadi, where ships have to anchor in a comparatively exposed roadway, and loading and unloading can only be done in fair-weather. At present there is still a considerable export of rice, chiefly in sailing ships from False Point to the Mauritius, but most of the trade passes through Chandbali in the Balasore district at the mouth of the Baitarani."¹⁵

The only ports that were really used were ports of Balasore, Chandbali and Gopalpur. Balasore and Chandbali ports had become worst within the last few years as the rivers Budhabalanga and Baitarani had silted up. After 1900 nearly all of the trade of north Orissa were focused at Chandbali as Balasore port was not in demand after opening of the Railways. The ports which traded with Chandbali were Calcutta, the coast ports from Bombay on the west to Arakan on the east and foreign ports such as the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon and occasionally Mauritius.

The necessity of good ports for Orissa, where sea-going vessels could safely anchor, load and unload, was keenly felt. It was proposed that a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighbourhood of it should be established. Madhusudan Das urged as follows in the Imperial Legislative Council.

"Orissa exports a large quantity of rice. A good deal of it is exported to Ceylon, and a large portion also to Mauritius. Mauritius sends sugar in return to Orissa. At present all these things which are used for export and import have to come to Calcutta, and they have to be re-booked either by steamer to Chandbali or by railway to different parts of the province. There is a large export trade in hides. These hides are exported to Europe and to foreign countries. At present they go by Chandbali to Calcutta or by railway to Calcutta, and they are re-shipped by sea-going vessels to foreign countries.... The route to Calcutta, besides being circuitous, is expensive on two grounds: (1) because the Highly river being what it is there is the cost of the Pilot; (2) Sailing vessels cannot come, so they have to be towed by steamers, and that means additional expenditure. If there were a port near Dhamra or somewhere in the neighbourhood of it, where vessels could safely anchor, and load and unload, there would be a great saving."¹⁶

He further urged that the railway lines with the Chandbali port should be opened to facilitate the sea-borne trade. He said :

"Chandbali exported things to the value of about 34 lakhs, and imported about 29 lakhs, and the passenger traffic was about 80,000. Of course it should be taken into consideration that Chandbali is not connected by railway or any other means of communication, not even by decent roads, with the interior of the country; and therefore my resolution is that, if a railway line be constructed connecting Bhadrak with Chandbali or any other place where a suitable site could be had for use as a port, the country will be opened up, commerce will benefit and the public will be benefited by it." ¹⁷

A regular service for carrying cargoes and passengers was kept up between Chandbali and Calcutta by the Bengal and Orissa Steamship Company and the Chandbali Steamship Service Company. With the opening of Railways, passengers ceased to use this route to Calcutta. But Chandbali continued to be the only port by which export and import trade of North Orissa was carried on. ¹⁸

Gopalpur, the chief port of the Ganjam district, catered to the needs of South Orissa. The British India Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., the Scindia Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., and the Asiatic Steam Navigation and Co. Ltd., were engaged in carrying on the coastal trade through this port during the years, 1900—1947. The vessels of the first two companies had regular service with Rangoon for cargo and passengers.

Once the port of Ganjam was the chief port of the Ganjam district. It was on the Rushikulya river. But in consequence of the river gradually silting, the limits of the port had been changed from time to time. After 1900, it was rare thing for a ship to come there. ¹⁹

Internal Trade:

The improved means of communication facilitated trade and commerce inside Orissa and between Orissa and adjoining regions especially Tributary Mahals. The advent of motor cars, motor lorries and trucks had effected considerable improvement in road standard and fostered internal trade. A great portion of the internal trade had been carried on by railway gradually. During the rainy season certain amount of traffic passed up and down the rivers in country boats, but after the rains the rivers soon dried up and traffic ceased.

The chief centres of the internal trade were Puri, Khurda, Sapalbadi, Pipili, Balkati and Banpur in the district of Puri, Cuttack, Marshaghai, Jagatsinghpur, Kendrapara, Jajapur in the district of Cuttack and Jaleswar. Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Remuna and Chandbali in the district of Balasore. The principal classes of traders were dealers in wood and fuel, fish, oils, milk, vegetables, grains, betel nut, pan and tobacco.

Berhampur, Ganjam, Khalikote, Hinjilicut, Chhatrapur, Gopalpur, Parlakhemundi, Aska, Russelkonda, Digapahandy and Bellaguntha were the chief business centres in the Ganjam district. Jeypore, Rayagada, Nowarangapur, Gunpur, Koraput and Kotpad were the notable business centres in the Koraput district. Sambalpur, Bargarh, Bhukta and Jharsuguda were the principal centres of trade in Sambalpur district.

The greater part of the local trade was carried on at the various hats or markets scattered throughout the interior. These markets, though generally not of any great size, were conveniently situated for the supply of local wants and acted as centres at which grain was collected for export. In the course of the next few years markets of considerable size spring up in proximity to railway station. The commodities ordinarily exhibited for sale in the market included local manufactured cotton cloths, imported cotton cloths; brass and bell metal, utensils and ornaments, kerosene oil, provisions of all sorts such as paddy, rice, salt, spices, molasses, dried fish, vegetables, fresh fish, castor, mustard oil, gram, confectionery, rice, pan for chewing, earthenware, pottery, mats, brooms, fuel, hair oil, mirrors, combs, soap, needles, pins, tobacco, scrap iron, cotton thread, string, rope, and small utensils. At markets of a larger size there was often a trade in special articles including cattle, timber, charcoal, yarn, tamarind,

pamphlets sold by missionaries. Outsiders known as kabuli pedlars sold warm clothes of various descriptions in the cold weather. The regular shop-keepers did a lucrative trade and made a good profit.

The markets were let out to contractors, who collected fees generally half a pice to one pice per day from the owner of every shop. The speciality of the old market was the sale of timber and cattle. These were markets of great importance. The average attendance at them was probably seven to eight hundred and people came to them from a distance of 10 or 12 miles.

The markets of Orissa were described by S. L. Maddox as follows:

"From noon till 9 'clock at night the Oriya market presents a busy scene. The traders set out their wares each in his appointed place. The drummer and flute-blower make music at every shop and receive a few pice or a small article exposed for sale. The sweeper collects a similar contribution. The village postman attends to deliver letters, and the zamindar's peons to press the ryots for their rents. People, women predominating, flock in with rice or fish for sale and to make purchases for the weekly family wants. The dandidar, or weigher appointed to supervise the markets, goes round to receive his commission on the sales or to give his opinion in the rates to prevail for the day. The gomasta of the zamindar, or of the ijaradar who has taken a lease of the market, collects his fees (tols) in kind or cash, or sometimes a stipulated annual rent from every shop. The money changer exhibits piles of small coins and cowries and a shopkeeper may be seen bartering his goods in exchange for some articles of domestic requirements" ²⁰.

In the Sambalpur district women constituted the majority of the retail merchants. It was the usual practice for the wives and relatives of farm labourers and cultivators to buy up grain in small quantities husk it at home, and sell it at the weekly village markets. At these markets grain, cloths, vegetables, sweets, firewood, salt, spices, tobacco, oil, trinkets and cattle were sold and bought; and almost all the trading, except in cattle, was done by women, young and old. The wholesale grain dealers were local brahmsni, Cutchi Muhammadans and Marwaris, who bought grain and sold imported cotton thread, salt, tobacco, kerosene oil and cloth. The Cutchi traders were gradually being ousted by the Marwaris who had acquired a predominant position in the grain and cloth market. ²¹

External Trade:

In the past, the external trade of Orissa was carried on through ports. Gradually the ports of Orissa had declined and were in hopelessly bad condition after 1,900, nothing substantial was done to develop them. The construction of coast cannal, abandonment of salt manufacture in North Orissa and extension of railway lines through Orissa contributed a great deal to the decline of the maritime trade of Orissa. In fact major portion of the external trade of Orissa had been absorbed by railway after 1,900. Gradually it monopolised export and import trade of Orissa.

Rice was the staple export through the railways and was sent principally to Calcutta, but also to Tananariva, Bombay, Karachi, Chota Nagpur and Berar. Other exports through railways included coal, oil, hemp, hides and forest products such as timber, lac, kendu leaves and Mohua flowers. The principal imports were salt, sugar, kerosine oil, piecegoods, cotton cloth, cotton yarn and various cereals. Kerosine oil was brought from Calcutta and cotton cloth and yarn from Calcutta, the Bombay and Nagpur mills.

In some places of Ganjam district like Ganjam, Humma, Surala, Naupada and Calingapatnam, The manufacture of salt by evaporation was carried on in the hot weather. After meeting the local needs, it exported large quantity of salt to neighbouring provinces like Central Provinces. As narrated by Maltby, The market for the sale of Ganjam salt lies chiefly in the Central Provinces, and the great carriers of salt are the Brinjarie or rather Banjaras who are somewhat similar in their manner and customs to the English gypsies. The Banjaras bring down to the coast comparatively little of the produce of the interior, but what they do bring consists chiefly of cotton, turmeric, iron and wheat. Many bullocks come down unladen. They take away salt and a little sugar. The salt is carried in sacks slung on either side of the bullock's backs. There are two main roads followed by the Banjaras into Ganjam, firstly that via Sambalpur through Bod and the Gallej Muti of Gumsur leading by Berhampur to Ganjam, and secondly that through Bissumcut tack by Gunjuram and Kimidi to the salt pans of Naupada and Calingapatnam."

The external trade was still carried on through ports. There were four ports which were of any use. They were Chandbali, Balasore False Point and Gopalpur. In rough weather steamers could not go near False Point. They had to anchor at a very considerable distance as it was impossible for these steamers to unload and load their content there. For all practical purposes, the port did not exist. The ports which traded with the elports were Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and the foreign ports such as the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon and Mauritius.²²

Gradually, maritime trade was focused at Chandbali, which continued as the Chief port of North Orissa as demand for Balasore port declined rapidly after the opening of railways. Even the Chandbali port was going from bad to worse as the river near the port had silted up. In early 20th century it was not a place where sea-going vessel would go and was used only by small steamers which plied between that port and Calcutta. Gopalpur, the major port of South Orissa, continued to take active part in export and import trade.

The largest imports were salt, which was brought in large quantities from Madras, and European piece-goods, and principal export was rice, which in favourable seasons was despatched in enormous quantities. The import were chiefly made from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The other articles of export from Gopalpur port were turmeric, skin, fish and sugar. The supply of fish from Gopalpur port was abundant crystalized sugar was manufactured in the Aska factory by Messors Minchin and Co.

A considerable quantity of the grain exported came from the Garhjats and several traders from Balasore visited princely states of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj and purchased the crops upon the fields. At Chandbali also, it was a common practice for the exporters to send out agents among the villages, who purchased the crops before they were reaped by making advances to the cultivators. Rice was shipped oversea to Ceylon and Mauritius and sugar was obtained from the latter Island by merchants who kept up a connection with Mohammadan traders controlling the sugar industry there. But with these exceptions trade, both import and export, was carried on chiefly with Calcutta and Madras²³.

On the whole, the railways had paralysing effect on the sea-borne trade of Orissa. False Point had no coasting trade. Importance of Balasore port was diminishing fast. Sea-borne trade was practically confined to the coasting trade between Calcutta, Chandbali and Gopalpur Madras during the period under review. For all practical purposes, the major portion of export and import of Orissa was carried on by railways during the period under review.

Conclusion :

In 1947, Orissa was much more backward economically than the neighbouring provinces. The agriculture industry and trade were extremely underdeveloped. The lamentable state of the means of transport and communication were responsible for this to a great extent. Several factors hindered the growth of communication. Because of the fragmentation of Oriya-speaking areas and consequent administrative apathy, the development of communication received much less attention than what was necessary. Natural factors proved to be formidable obstacles in developing roadways. Numerous rivers were flowing through Orissa. A large portion of Orissa was covered by hills, forests and sands. Further, the total neglect of the industrialisation of Orissa was another factor responsible for her backwardness of transport system.

The greatest advantage of improved means of communication was that a terrible famine like the famine of 1866 did not occur in Orissa again. Trade and commerce received considerable impetus. The demand for labour increased and prices of local agricultural products rose. It proved to be of immense benefit to the agriculturists.

The greatest demerit of improved means of the communication system was that it caused decline of the salt and weaving industries of Orissa as the foreign goods could be sold in the nook and corner of Orissa. Further, it facilitated the exportation of rice from Orissa causing rise of the price of this essential commodity. Gopabandhu Das stated: "Another point which I would urge in this connection

and in which I have the strongest support of many people is the control of food stuffs and the restriction of exports The main difficulty in the way of leaving trade unrestricted lies in the varying economic conditions of different tracts. The workers in mills, for instance, can afford to pay for higher prices than ill-paid labourers in the more backward tracts and, if the exports are unrestricted, the latter tracts might be denuded of their reserves of food which it would be difficult, if not impossible to replace latter on." The continuous exportation of rice from Orissa and consequent scarcity of foodgrains were the important factors behind occurrence of devastating famines in Orissa during the colonial period.

The proportion of the local population benefited by the development of trade was very small. The local merchants carried on trade on a very small scale. The major portion of the trade was in the hands of the outsiders. In this connection it was remarked :

"The Oriya has, as a rule, a faint idea of trade and little commercial enterprise, his horizon being bounded by usury, which requires a small expenditure of energy and grows fat as it were by feeding on itself. The chief merchants and traders are foreigners, the rice merchants being principally Muhammadans from Bombay, the cloth merchants, Marwaries from Jaipur and Marwar, and the hide dealers, Kabulies for Afghanistan. Among the local mercantile community the most important are Tambulies who are general merchants, subarnhanikas, who are generally money-lenders and pawnbrokers, Gandiabhanika and Aguris (Ugra Kshatriyas), who are shopkeepers, Kapurias, who sell cloth, and Sunaris, who are liquor vendors; while confectioners or sweetmeat sellers belong to the Guria caste."

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PANDIT GOPABANDHU DAS AND THE BRITISH POLICY OF TRADE AND COMMERCE IN ORISSA

Rabi Narayan Dash

Pandit Gopabandhu Das was a pioneer of the freedom struggle in Orissa. He was born on the 9th October, 1877, and expired on 17th June 1928. Thus his life span was about-fiftyone years, i. e. beginning from the rule of Earl of Lytton I. (April 1876—June 1880) to that of Lord Irwin (3-4-1926—16-4-1931), the Viceroy and Governor Generals of British India out of which his childhood, adolescence and student life covered altogether twenty-eight years. The rest twenty-three years was devoted by him for the cause of Orissa. From 1909 onwards till his death his presence in the social and political life of Orissa as well as to some extent in India was being felt by the people and the contemporary leaders alike. He breathed his last when he was entering the Indian scene as a political and social reformist force. He was also foremost in many aspects of reforms and indigenisation of trade and commerce in Orissa. In many cases he was found to be an exponent of Swadeshi movement even prior to Mahatma Gandhi launched it after his return from South Africa in 1914. He took his vow with his friends on the Bank of the Bhargavi river, not to serve the Government but the people of the province with no desire for personal advancements so that when they died, they would leave behind the poor province of Orissa richer, nobler and more prosperous (Dash 1964: 59). It was due to the callousness of the British Government to the miserable fate of the Oriya people the vow reflected in various spheres of his activities including that of trade and commerce.

Trade is the way of livelihood or an occupation adopted by an individual or a homogeneous group engaged in such equivalent activities. It may be hereditary or acquired but in a smaller scale. Thus trade may include the process of earning one's livelihood by manufacture or small scale selling away of products either produced or acquired. Thus it includes artisans and professionals in small scale hereditary trade such as smiths, potters, carpenters, cloth weavers and traders, salt manufacturers and traders, groups dealing with the collection and trade of forest articles, etc. On the other hand, commerce is interchange of merchandise on a large scale between individuals or nations. It also includes companies manned by individuals or group and the nation to nation exchange of sale of products. As per the British policy towards trade a few important items bearing on the living of the Orissan people and the reflections and reactions of Pandit Gopabandhu on the same can be dealt with separately from that of commerce. The British policy of commerce towards India and particularly Orissa is not a policy of mutuality or equality between the two free nations but one of the ruler and the ruled. Thus the ruled had no option in bargaining terms but to obey the dictate. Further there was no agency of the people in the beginning to deal with the same either recognised or independent. Again, the Bihar and Orissa province was created under a lieutenant Governor in the year 1916 during the rule of Charles Hardinge (23-11-1910—4-4-1916), the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Thus the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council was formed as per the provisions of the Indian Council Act of 1892 and Pandit Gopabandhu got a forum to ventilate the woes and ills of the Orissan people arising out of the British policy. All reactions to these policies were in the form of protests, objections appeals, proposals and questions in and before the law making bodies which were rejected or withdrawn in almost all cases. The reflections and reactions of Pandit Gopabandhu Das on the same were featured in the "*Satyabadi*" and "*The Samaja*", two of his regular publications besides his public speeches which remain unrecorded. These were all intended to arouse consciousness and to create public opinion on the British intentions and advance undeterred rightful demands.

Pandit Gopabandhu began to lead his public life towards the end of Lord Curzon's (1899—1905), rule as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. He established the Satyabadi School at Sakhigopal in 1909 and brought out the magazine "*Satyabadi*" in

1915 prior to his launching of the newspaper "The Samaj" on 4.10.1919. He wrote in *Satyabadi* that the English rule is responsible for the precarious condition of the Indian industries and the companies of Manchester and Berlin are the causes in shattering the foundations of Indian Trade and Manufacturing Agencies (*Satyabadi* 1st year, 8th and 9th issue). It had been pointed out by him that the enforcement of free trade regulations by the English ultimately controlled and managed the Indian industries and brought to such a pass in the last one hundred years. In fact, Indian industry was basically cottage based, small scale and sophisticated whereas the western industries remain machine processed or mechanised, large scale and general standardised in nature which could meet the needs of the bulk of Indian people on demand. The great Indian market required goods in a large scale which geared up the capacity of the western industries. The policy of monopoly introduced in the market system by the British also prevented competition from other European Countries and native organisations in bringing down the prices. Establishment of such industries in India to avoid long and time consuming transportations by the English also involved greater risks. Thus the British policy acted in double directions to keep the Indian and foreign efforts at a fix. Subsequently the British established companies owned and managed by them exclusively in which they earned greater profits at the cost of cheap Indian labour and free raw materials supply. Even, whatever goods were brought to India from markets other than the English were through the English traders.

Pandit Gopabandhu did not live to see the Second World War but he was present at the time of the First World War and felt the stringency of imported goods by the people of India and Orissa who were used to consume these articles. His reflections during this period has been expressed by him in one of the issues of *Satyabadi* in which he has aptly expressed that the imports from the enemy countries due to world war is a golden opportunity for the establishment of national industries in India. (*Satyabadi*, 1st year, 10th and 11th number, 'Bharatiya Silpa', 1916). In his view industry is the basis of trade and commerce and to bring out an all-round indigenous development of the latter the basis should be strengthened. He has said that it could be done only by training the hereditary traders of the country who have remained united in a caste based community. Pandit Gopabandhu had focussed his attention mainly on three important aspects of trade in Orissa which were responsible for the financial condition of the people. These are weaving, exploitation of jungle products, and salt manufacture. The British policy was from the beginning intended to appropriate these for the English monopolists apportioning a scanty share of the same to the faithful subordinate non-Oriya people to the utter economic disaster of the Oriyas. So his views were in favour of establishing industries centrally located amidst a cluster of villages in the rural areas and to train the craftsmen and labourers so that it will be spread throughout the state and popular prior to the establishment of large scale industries in bigger towns and cities (*Ibid.*)

Orissa is a coastal country interlinked and drained by a number of rivers affecting its ecology and economy. The state is also privileged by the great Chilka lake which has to a great extent influenced its economy in the form of fishing and salt production, and thus augmenting the trade in the inland areas of India. Moreover, its artisans, particularly weavers flourished and excelled in producing fine cloths which were coveted by the foreign traders as well. All these resources responsible for the able and flow of the Orissan life were affected by the British policy and the people of Orissa became impoverished due to this. Pandit Gopabandhu in an editorial in "*Satyabadi*" captioned *Odisa Upakulara Sakti O Sampada* (the strength and resources of coastal Orissa) wrote in 1917 that salt was manufactured from the coasts of Orissa in large scale which was sustaining a great bulk of the Oriya people. They were also engaged in the salt trade in different provinces. But now this trade has been stopped and the Oriyas are purchasing the salt imported from other countries (*Satyabadi* 2nd year, 8th to 12th number, 1917). Pandit Gopabandhu, orther delivered in the matter in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on the 12th November, 1917 in which he wanted to know from the Government about what use was made of the salt that was obtained as a by-product from the manufacture of salt-petre in the districts of Champaran and Saran (Mohapatra, 1973 : 177-78). This was intended perhaps

to make similar use of the by-products of salt manufactured from Orissa if there are companies private parties, Co-operative Organisations or individuals venturing in the salt trade. He wrote it with a view to revive the salt, fish, and ship building activities in Orissa bringing in, where applicable, comparative superiority of the Orissan ways and means to light, than the English and the European methods. It was done in *inbibe* faith and courage among the Oriyas. With the directions of Pandit Gopabandhu, Pandit Krupasindhu Misra wrote an article captioned. '*Odisare Engrej Vanijya Kothi Sthapana*' (Establishment of English Commerce Centre in Orissa) '*Satyabadi*, 4th year, 8th to 12th number, 1918-19). The same article was continued in the 5th year, 3rd and 4th number in which he has mentioned that 'Balasore was equally famous for trade of salt-petre with Patna.' In fact the salt trade of Patna was completely depending on the Balasore port because till then it was not possible to play ships into Bengal through Hoogly river (*Satyabadi*, 5th year, 3rd and 4th number, 1919). In between 1645—50 A. D. Captain Brooke Heaven addressed the Orissan English crew in which he emphasised that, our Lord Hon'ble company desires that in these areas (Balasore and Hoogly) trade should be expanded. So you are to try your best to purchase the local goods, particularly salt-petre, muslin (Pata) and sugar, etc. in time and, contribute to the expansion of trade in these areas. Further, it is noted by Misra that during 1651 there was ample scope in Bengal, specially in Balasore and Hoogly, for the purchase of salt petre (*Ibid*). Thus salt was a profitable and export oriented article manufactured in Orissa from ancient times, till the end of 17th Century A. D. probably this was the beginning of English fascination to monopolise it under the East India Company. But it could not happen till 1803 A. D. when they were able to conquer Orissa. When the East India Company established their rule in Orissa this right (of salt manufacture) was withdrawn from the people and Government imposed an excise duty on salt production. Besides, without the permission of the Government salt was not manufactured (Dash, 1964: 80).

Pandit Gopabandhu traced the history of salt duties imposed in Orissa in course of his speech at the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on the 4th March 1918. He emphasised on the revival of salt industry and restoration of the rights for salt manufacture to the coastal Oriya people whose only profession was linked with salt. He pointed out the British policy as follows :—"When the British Government took possession of the Province in 1803, the manufacture was in the hands of the Rajas and Zamindars who had coast areas included in their estates. The Government introduced the monopoly system throughout the Orissa coast in 1804. The system was thoroughly organised in 1831 and continued till 1863, when it was abandoned in favour of the excise system. The excise system afforded scope for smuggling and monopoly system was again, reported to by the Madras Salt Department to which the industry in Orissa was transferred from Bengal in 1888—89. It was not kept for long under Madras. Sometime after its transfer there was a long correspondence for its re-transfer to Bengal which was effected in 1898, the year in which salt was last manufactured in Orissa (Mohapatra, 1973 : 111-12). He further noted that in the (resolution No. 130 of the 25th March 1891 the Madras Board of Revenue stated about the ignorance of Oriya on the part of the departmental officers which is one of the practical difficulties in the way of the successful working of the system of direct manufacture in Tua (In Chilka) (*Ibid*). In 1901 there was an enquiry for the revival of salt manufacture which did not recommend favourably towards the same though Parikud in the Chilka lake remained famous in the field of salt production.

The salt law prohibiting the coastal Oriya People to manufacture salt was rudely followed by the English rulers. But the people could not resist their temptation to the hereditary profession of manufacturing it. Hence Pandit Gopabandhu during his tenure in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council asked questions about it. In the council, which met on 31st January 1918 Pandit Gopabandhu wanted to know the number of cases instituted for offences against the salt

law, the number of persons apprehended, number of persons convicted, amount of fines and forfeitures realised, and the amount disbursed to informers and to persons who arrested offenders during the years 1912—1917. On behalf of the Government Mr. Sifton replied the questions.

On 4th March 1918 Pandit Gopabandhu moved a resolution in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council for the revival of the salt industry in Orissa with wide comparative statistics and observations of various administrators and experts then working on the subject both in the Madras and Bengal presidency. The purport of his proposition indicated that it is due to half-hearted and shifting assignments of the English Companies that the coastal population thriving on salt manufacture became paupers and prey of famine sans active livelihood. One particular thing he has pointed out that it is an open secret that when the local officers of a department decide upon a course, for some reason or other grounds, are never wanting to justify their positions and support their views. It is this attitude of mind which, often defeats the best intentions of Government (Mahapatra, 1973 : 115). The Government assured Pandit Gopabandhu to consider favourably about the salt manufacture (*Ibid* : 129).

Again, Pandit Gopabandhu asked some questions in the Legislative Council on 2nd April 1918 wherein he wanted to know about the progress on the salt manufacture in Chilka and whether the Government of India was moved on the subject and any progress made on the negotiation with any responsible firm for this. The reply was given by Sifton on behalf of the Government stating that the talk on salt manufacture with a company was in progress and the Government of India was moved on the subject (*Ibid* : 140-41). The Tatas and Kilburn Company surveyed the area in order to establish a joint stock company for salt manufacture (Dash, 1964 : 81) as a result of Gopabandhu's questions and the Government's subsequent steps on the same. Though Lieutenant Governor Edward Gait paid a visit to the Chilka lake and assured the Oriya people about the restoration of the right to free manufacture of salt. (*Ibid*), which, however could not take place. The reason was that due to the First World War salt trade was halted and after the war ended in 1918 salt importation from Liverpool was resumed. The two companies also reported that the cost of production of salt at Chilka would be high and it would be unprofitable to start salt production on a large scale (*Ibid*). It is quite possible that for the interest of the English salt trade both the companies had backed out or made to withdraw from the project. The Inchudi Salt Satyagraha was led on the 15th March 1930 under the leadership of Gopabandhu Choudhury who was arrested on the way and Acharya Harinar Das broke the Salt Law on 13th April 1930 (De, 1991 : 5) in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call, long after Pandit Gopabandhu fought for it in the council.

Gandhiji probably came to know about Pandit Gopabandhu from the Indian National Congress session held in 4th September 1920 at Calcutta which he attended as a delegate from Orissa. So all the efforts on the restoration of salt manufacture in Orissa was prior to that of Mahatma Gandhi's salt movement widely known as Dandi March. Mahatma Gandhi visited Orissa in June 1921 and December 1927 during the life time of Pandit Gopabandhu and it is quite probable that he acquired the knowledge of Pandit Gopabandhu's efforts in the Bihar and Orissa Council on the restoration of salt manufacture for the Orissan people. Further, under the rule of Earl of Reading (1921—1925 A.D.) as Viceroy and Governor General of India the salt tax was doubled. This was highly resented by the people and Mahatma Gandhi took the opportunity to start his agitation. It is known that Mahatma Gandhi started his salt Satyagraha at Dandi on the 5th April 1930 (De, 1991:5; Mahatab, 1960 : 453-in the year 1929). However, the salt Satyagraha ended with the commencement of Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 4th March 1931 restoring the right to the people for the manufacture of salt (De, 1991 : 5) about three years after the demise of Pandit Gopabandhu Das.

Another industry that flourished in Orissa and promoted trade and commerce was weaving of clothes. It had a long history from time immemorial. Particularly various communities among the Oriya people including the adivasis used to weave cloth. They are Bauri, Pana, Ganda, Domba,

Bonda, Gadaba, Dongaria-Kondh beside the weaver caste. Even there exists division of labour among the cloth weavers or cotton processors like Tulabhina (Spinners) Rangani (dyers), Tanti (weavers) and Patara (traders in muslin). But due to lack of patronisation, the work based caste system was relegated to antiquity. In an editorial discussion in '*Satyabadi*' Pandit Gopabandhu had written in the year 1915-16 that 'the hand of Indian industry is ground by the Manchester and Berlin mills. It is due to the monopoly in trade that the Indian industry is destroyed'. (*Satyabadi*, 1st year, 10th and 11th number). Pandit Gopabandhu further discussed the problem of industry (*Slipa Samasya*) in which he has noted that some of the weavers villages have been wiped out, there is no trace of roving spinners, and the dyers have remained a community by name only and there is no engagement existing according to their tradition (*Satyabadi*, 2nd year, 8th to 12th number, 1917-18).

Pandit Gopabandhu tried to find out the cause of the decline in trade and production of clothes and prescribed the remedies for the same. Among many causes the British policy, particularly the monopoly, trade of the East India Company has been noted by him as the foremost and on his direction Pandit Krupasindhu Misra took steps in finding out details of such causes. Moreover, in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative council he had tried to show the precarious plight of the artisans, which probably included weavers, and sought for justice, though he did not specifically noted about the same. In his speech of 2nd April 1918 in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council he casually noted that due to the World War articles of prime necessity e. g. cloth and salt are now selling at a price almost prohibitive to the great bulk of the people (Mahapatra, 1973 : 133). But to prepare the future citizens of Orissa he introduced weaving as a course in the Satyabadi High School. Spinning hand weaving with Charakha and looms were already a part of the curriculum (Dash, 1964 : 151). Pandit Gopabandhu tried to tell the people in their own way and language about the British policy for which he did not quote the laws or enactments but simply discussed the consequences of the same indicating the laws of the Government therein.

In an editorial of the *Samaja* dated 1st April 1922 Pandit Gopabandhu had written that in order to bring an end to thread making from cotton and weaving of clothes the Government tried many tricky ways and framed laws with a view to protect the British interest of trade and Commerce in cloth (*Videsi Mohajala* i. e. the charm of foreign net, *Gopabandhu Rachanavali*, Vol. 7, pp. 70—72, 1978). He has shown in it that the cheap articles reaching easily to the people are intended to lure them away from all that was indigenous and in consequence make the people dependent on the foreign business communities and the foreign Government and by the by ultimately ruining their economic independence. Gopabandhu had written many editorials in support of '*Khadar Luga*' (coarse cloth) and indigenous methods to induce the people of Orissa to give away the foreign clothes. It is in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call for non-cooperation which was intended to cripple the British Government, their trade and to create a distasteful feeling among the people for all that was British. In another portion of the editorial written on this day captioned "*Videsi Vastra Varjana*" (Discarding of foreign clothes) he has vividly discussed this trade policy of the English Government pointing out to the commotion created at Lankashire and Manchester for the imposition of tax by the Indian Government on the British clothes. The British people and the traders had proposed to meet the Viceroy and Governor General of India on this tax imposition. Pandit Gopabandhu (had written ironically that the people at England) have come down to flatter India through Anne Besant on the mere imposition of a tax. She replied the English people that if they help India win freedom then trade and commerce with it will grow and the Indian people will become good customers of Lankashire. Pandit Gopabandhu wrote, if India wins freedom could they not visualise what is restored in their fate in future. Gopabandhu expressed doubt if they will be fooled to that extent so as to help India win freedom on mere words of Anne Besant. In concluding his discussion Gopabandhu had pointed out that if no independence in commerce to achieved at the outset then there will be no independence of India. Every year crores of rupees

are being drained out from this country for which it has come down to this distressed condition. Hence, discarding of all that is foreign and acceptance of all things that is national the independence of India is possible. He concluded saying that, therefore, the Congress has laid stress on everything that is Indian.

On the direction of Pandit Gopabandhu, Pandit. Krupasindhu Misra revealed in his article '*Odisare Vanijya Kotha Sthapana*' (Establishment of trade centre in Orissa) that particularly there were different types of cloth available in plenty around Hariharpur (now Jagatsinghpur). Among the residents of this place the weavers alone constituted more than three thousand. Besides there were other weavers who were working on wages for their living from Hariharpur clothes were sent to Balasore without any fear or trouble. (*Satyabadi*, 4th year, 8th-12th number, 1919). Pandit Misra had further written that at Balasore the Mughal forces were oppressing the traders living in villages. These traders were weavers who were engaged in commerce on the protection of the English settlements and were living for sometime away from danger to a great extent. Once a weaver village was completely reduced to ashes and hundreds of weavers died being pierced by the Mughal Spears. That particular village received money to provide cloth to the British. But it was not affecting the company as compared to the profit, they were having from trade at Balasore. (*Satyabadi*, 5th year, 6th number). It indicates that though the English were carrying on trade and advanced money for the same to the weavers yet they were unable to protect their money or did not care to do so even if they had the sanad acquired from the ruler of Bengal. The blow to the weaving industry also came after the simple Oriya weavers surrender their looms to the English for the money they were paid as advance for the making of clothes (*Ibid*).

It was in 1633 A. D. that Orissa was preparing clothes to be sold outside and English people were purchasing clothes from Orissa. Pandit Krupasindhu Misra wrote in his article '*Odisare Engrej Vanijya Kotha Sthapana*' that white cloth was available in Orissa at a cheaper rate and those were in demand in England, Persia and other southern regions. (*Satyabadi*, 4th year, 8th-12th number 1919). It continued till 1750 A. D. prior to the Marahatta raid on the weavers. From the census returns of 1892 it is known that there were 59,363 weavers in Cuttack, 56,767 in Balasore and about 19,500 Puri (Patanaik, 1980), it indicates wide spread weaving profession and trade based on the same in Orissa by that time.

Pandit Gopabandhu had written in his editorial of '*The Samaja*' dated 18-2-1922 Captioned '*Swadesi Sandarbha*' that the cultivation of cotton is completely stopped since thirty years. Import statistics for the years 1870 and 1880 A. D. have corroborated Pandit Gopabandhu's writings which reveal that cotton goods were imported into the Orissan market. The date is almost equivalent to the importation of cotton goods with the stopping of cultivation of cotton. Probably the Cultivation of cotton thrived sickly during 1870—1880 A. D. in order to feed to the dying out. Orissan Weaving Industry and thereafter abandoned when considered unprofitable. From a monograph on Cotton fabrics appeared in the Bengal revenue proceedings of April 1898. Nos. 74-75 (Patnaik, 1980 p.188 it is known that the weavers were still famous for superior manufacture, but cloth making in the province was costly and not paying in competition with the cheaper imported goods. Those who were engaged in it lived in the verge of starvation. In the '*Swadesi Sandarbha*' Pandit Gopabandhu has further shown that 'from the date of the introduction of English clothes our cotton cultivation vanished. Along with the same *Arata*, Spinnigwheel Kapakhai Spinnig machine and everything went out of use. The spinner class ceased to exist. The weavers left their hearth and home to fill their stomach elsewhere, some resorted to begging. some worked as manual labourers, and a few engaged in other works' (*The Samaja*, 18-2-1922). In addition to this the British Government imposed tax on the clothes produced by the country mills (*The Samaja* 14-3-1925). This was only to protect the interest of the English cotton mills at the

expense of the mills that were Indian. In the *Samaj* dated 25-2-1922 Pandit Gopabandhu had written that 'to prepare thread from cotton is the best occupation for the poor women and there is no loss of name and fame in it. [*Swadesi Sandarvha* (2)]. In a communication No. 21-29 G. 8th July 1897, addressed to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, E. F. Growse, the Collector of Cuttack wrote that the increase in import of cotton goods into the province indicated a corresponding decrease in indigenous manufacture. From an economic point of view the people obtained cheaper clothing but they lost their own industry. Once upon a time cloth making was the principal industry. Even female members of the high class cultivators were engaged in making thread. But with the increase of foreign importation, it was forshaken and relegated to lower classes (*Beugal Rev. Proc.* April 1889, Patnaik 1980:P).

In two of his articles appearing in the editorials of 'The *Samaj*, dated 20-3-1925 and 11-4-1925—Captioned '*Bepara Phand*' (trick of trade) and '*Desi Kalara Bipatti*' (Misfortune of country mills) he has exposed the intention of the British in protecting the interest of the English companies and the people at the cost of the impoverished Indians (*Gopabandhu Rachanabali*, Vol. 7, pp. 96-97, 110). Knowing fully well the disadvantage of the Oriya traders in competing with the English machinery and large scale trade organisations Gopabandhu tried to induce the Oriyas to revive cottage industry. In this connection he had indicated the opinion of Mr. Brukledrost, a member of the industrial worker's council who had observed that, the question of thinner threads may be considered. Finer workmanship which is the speciality of India cannot be prepared in the machines. In fact the superb talent of artistic workers and the development of unique qualities do not require machines and industries. (*Satyabadi*, 2nd year, 8th—12th number, 1916).

Pandit Gopabandhu included weaving in the curriculum of the Satyabadi School (A Report of the Satyabadi School 1912-13 to 1917-18) which was prior to Mahatma Gandhi's launching of the Swadesi Movement. Mahatma Gandhi took over 'The young India' and 'Navajivana' (Gujarati) in the year 1919 during the rule of Lord Chemsford (5-4-1916—1-4-1921) the Viceroy and Governor General of India and voiced his agitation against the English Government. As a result the non-cooperation movement was adopted by the Indian National Congress at first in the Congress Working Committee at Delhi and subsequently under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai in a special session held in September 1920 at Calcutta. This was confirmed in the Nagpur session in December 1920. It all happened as a reaction to the progressive measure taken by the English Government in the Rawlat Act of 1919 and Jalianwala Bagh Massacre of Punjab on 13th April 1919 A.D. Pandit Gopabandhu was introduced to Mahatma Gandhi by A. V. Thakkar, popularly known as Thakkar Bappa, in the year 1920 and he visited the Satyabadi School on 9th June 1921 in course of his trekking march to Puri. After Gopabandhu joined Congress and came in contact with Gandhiji he made all out effort to revolutionise the movement. Even Gandhiji pointed out a piece of foreign cloth used in dressing Lord Jagannatha as part of discarding everything that was not Indian. So in his editorial of the *Samaja* dated 18-6-1921 captioned "*Prabhu Jagannathunku Sudha Vastra Pindhaa*". Pandit Gopabandhu appealed to the people of Orissa and the king of Puri to take into consideration such a proposal advanced by Mahatma Gandhi.

Orissa was a forest dominated land controlling the ecology and interdependence of man-land relationships from the very beginning. Beginning from food and drink to that of cash crops, animal products, house building materials, etc. were being collected and exchanged by the Oriyas. The British policy was to deprive the people and the Indian rulers from their rights to the forest and to lease out to the English traders and petty companies working under them in the interest of the East India Company. Though the Government of India under the Viceroyalty and Governor Generalship of Charles Hardinge started a Forest Research Institute and college at Dehradun in the year 1914.

Orissa could not be benefitted from that research. On the other hand the British policy was to keep away the native industrial organisations from cutting timber. Pandit Gopabandhu reacted over this state of affairs and questioned in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council.

On 1st April 1919 Pandit Gopabandhu asked in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council about lease to the Bengal Timber trading company in Singhbhum as follows:—

(a) will the Government be pleased to state—

- (i) when the Bengal Timber Trading Company were first allowed to work in the forest of the Singhbhum district,
- (ii) the forest division included in their lease,
- (iii) Who were working in these forests before ?

“(b) Is it a fact,—

- (i) that the Bengal Timber Trading Company have been given a monopoly, and have been assured against all competition ; and
- (ii) That the Indian contractors who were pioneers in the field, have been pushed aside inspite of their readiness to pay higher rates ?”

“(c) Are the Government aware of an order recently issued on the Indian contractors who are supplying timbers and sleepers to the Munition Board, to the effect that they could get work only on condition that they would saw G. G. Sleepers exclusively and sell them all to the Bengal Timber Trading Company only” ?

“(d) Is it a fact that the Bengal Timber Trading Company will have their lease renewed again ? If so, when ?”

“(e) will the Government be pleased to direct the adoption by the Forest Department of the system of public auction in leasing out the coupes in preference to settling them with an individual firm ?”

On behalf of the Government Mr. Hubback replied the question stating for (a) (i) and (ii) that, “The company first obtained a lease in the Samta and Koina ranges of the Singhbhum Forest Division in 1909. In 1912 they obtained a further lease of the Porahat forest then in the same division but now a separate forest division.”

and for (iii) various petty contractors.

“(b) (i) and (ii) The company have a monopoly for the periods of their leases, which both run to the 30th June 1920, with the option of a renewal till the 30th June 1905, provided the company construct a saw mill and lay down a tramway. The leases were granted to the company because it was found that the auction system failed to get rid of the outturn on favourable terms and that under it the full yield which in the interests of the forests should have been cut, was not being cut. The question was not merely one of rates but of the amount of capital available and of the ability of the leases to cut the quantities which the economical working of the forests required.”

“(c) Government understood that some such order was issued, but are not fully informed of the source and precise terms of the order.”

“(d) The conditions regarding renewal are stated in the answer.”

“(e) The auction system is generally in force. The question of applying it to these forests will be considered in due course” (Mahapatra, 1973 : 77-79).

In the reply of the Government to Pandit Gopabandhu's queries monopoly and favouritism to English companies were laid bare. Probably the intension was revengeful on the part of the Government in remembrance of the Singhbhum rebellion against the British. Probably to impoverish the developing national companies and the people such policies were undertaken.

Pandit Gopabandhu asked further to know on 29-8-1919 in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council regarding the "memorial submitted by the Indian contractors for the reinstitution of the auction system in Porahat and Singhbhum forest; for leasing out forests; the order passed on the same; the extension of lease up to 1925 in respect of Bengal Timber Trading Company; if the company had fulfilled the condition in their agreement regarding the establishment of tramways and saw mill; if the receipts from the sale of dry trees by the auction system in Singhbhum and Porahat forests last October was considerably larger than what was usually obtained by the system previously followed and if the Government is prepared to introduce auction system with regard to green trees." Mr. Hubback replied that "the company already have an option of extending their leases till the 30th June, 1925; the company have allowed an extension of the period with which the saw-mill and a tramway in the Porahat forests must be on the spot and in process of construction, to December 20th, 1920, and the extension was necessitated by the difficulty of transporting from England the materials, which had already been purchased the period within which a tramway and saw-mill are to be constructed under the terms of their lease in the Samta and Koina ranges of Singhbhum will not expire till 20th, June 1921; the Conservator has been asked to report; the auction system cannot, be introduced for green trees till the company's lease expire."

Thus the British policy of trade and commerce relating to the forest products was to discriminate the same by the Government for the English companies even if they fail to fulfill the agreement with it. It is done at the expense of the Indian companies stating them as 'petty contractors'. The raising of the grazing fees of sheep and goat from 4 annas to Re 1. in the Khurda forests (Questions put by Pandit Gopabandhu in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on 10-9-1920, 1-4-1919, 7-3-1917 and 29-11-1927 and editorial in the *Samaja* 27-11-1920 *A. Katurt Vekrre ba*, 6-5-21 *Khurdare Apatil O Abhiyoga* in *Gopabandhu Rachanavali*, Vol. 6, pp. 90-91), when considered along with the timber business in Singhbhum then one will come to know that the English Government had selected areas involved in revolutionary activities during the past to implement these laws framed and added to the then existing ones provided under the Act. So the British policy was revengeful, reactionary, monopolistic, and vested interest loaded and the role of Pandit Gopabandhu was a selfless fight for the rightful claim of the Oriya people and ideal to the times and contemporary leaders. Though there were many other aspects yet the discussions are confined with the above few items considering them as important.

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THE MUSE OF THE SUDARSHANA CHAKRA IN ORISSA, 1921 22

Subash Chandra Mishra

The muse commenced with the passing of the resolution on Non-Co-operation by the Calcutta Special Session of the Congress in September, 1920. The draft resolution placed by Mahatma Gandhi said that the Congress advised "boycott of foreign goods." The resolution elaborately explained this objective : "as much as Non-Co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-Co-operation to every man, women and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, the Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirement of the Nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, the Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving handspinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement" ¹.

Initially this resolution met with stiff opposition from the leaders of the Congress but finally carried by 1886 against 884 votes, in the open session of the AICC on 8th September 1920. ²

The resolution on Non-Co-operation in the 35th session of the INC held at Nagpur in December 1920 said "where as the methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last special session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and the redress of their many and grievous wrongs."

Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on non-violent non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf."

- (e) In order to make India economically independent and self-contained by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving and in that behalf by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee ³

For Gopabandhu it was a Dharmayuddha. He said—"The Dharmayuddha that is now on for achieving Swarajya for ourselves, the only weapon that is used in it is the spinning-wheel the Sudarsana Chakra" ⁴

What was the spinning-wheel for the Mahatma ?

"Spinning is a true yajna" ⁵ said the Mahatma in the Navjivan in October 1921. 'On the eve of the Diwali 1921, he said, "the worship of the spinning-wheel is worship of the goddess of Laxmi." ⁶ He wished "everyone should equip his home with one spinning-wheel of the best quality. We should produce atleast some yarn on it and, for that purpose, it should be kept working for the whole day by every member of the family taking a turn at it. The yarn so produced should be credited in our books to the country's account. ⁷

"The spinning-wheel spells a more equitable distribution of the riches on earth." ⁸ Mahatma Gandhi justified the spinning-wheel for the Indian farmers. "The Indian peasant requires a supplementary industry. The most natural is the introduction of the spinning-wheel, not

the handloom. The latter cannot be introduced in every home, whereas the former can and it used to be so even a century ago. It was driven out not by economic pressure, but by force, deliberately used as can be proved from authentic records. The restoration, therefore, of the spinning-wheel serves the economic problem of India at a stroke it is as moral and instrument as it is economic." ⁹

Gandhi believed that the Charkha or the spinning-wheel would bring about the salvation of the country. In his opinion the spinning-wheel would serve the purpose of machine-guns and dreadnoughts home made cloth had a history behind it, would have a soul of its own, would possess its own aroma..... ¹⁰ "One big thing well and truly done must result in giving us confidence, hope and courage."¹¹

A bulletin on Indian Piece Goods Trade prepared by Mr. A. C. Coubrough C. B. E. was handed over to Gandhi, by order of the Government of India. The bulletin laboured to justify that Swadeshi was condemnable from financial considerations as it was against the law of supply and demand and against the consumer "it must fail in the end." To this Gandhi's answer was that it was not against the law "because it does away with the law of demand and supply by manufacturing enough for the supply. The movement does require a change of taste on the part of those who have adopted finer variety and who patronise fantastic combination of colours and designs." "I, therefore, claim for the Charkha the honour of being able to solve the problem of economic distress in a most natural, simple, inexpensive and business like manner.... It is the symbol of nation's prosperity and therefore freedom. It is a symbol not of commercial war but commercial peace. it needs the religious determination of millions to spin their yarn in their own homes as today they cook their food in their homes every revolution of the wheel spins peace, goodwill and love. And with all that, inasmuch as the loss of it brought about India's slavery, its voluntary revival with all its implications must mean India's freedom." ¹²

How the idea started spreading in Orissa

Gopabandhu, the President the Puri District Congress Committee, attended the Calcutta Special session of the Congress, in September 1920 ¹³. He agreed with the views of Gandhi on Swadeshi at the Calcutta session. He said that the Bengalees decided for the boycott of foreign goods during the partition of Bengal movement. But with the non-partition of Bengal, the seriousness for the idea could no longer hold fast. "Mahatma Gandhi is not in favour of boycott of foreign goods. He pleads for Swadeshi. Gopabandhu carried Mahatma's voice to the Oriya people and said when articles of need shall be manufactured in India there shall be no care for foreign goods. Indian cotton is being purchased by the British very cheap and the yarn and clothes are being sold in the Indian market at very high prices. "The cost of yarn has risen to such heights that the weavers have been forced to stop weaving It will not be real Swadeshi till yarn is produced in our country and clothes are worn with the same as well." He reminded the efforts made by the Utkal Sammilani in this regard. He pointed out that people even among the well-to-do families in Orissa were using torn clothes due to the price rise. "Men and women among the commoners are almost naked. "One cannot look at the face of the Mofussulites the spinning-wheel must be there in every home and each farmer should grow some cotton.... our country shall be free when our countrymen do not depend on others for food and clothing." ¹⁴

In December 1920 Gopabandhu and his friends attended the historic session of the Congress at Nagpur where Gandhi's proposal on the "boycott foreign goods" was passed after a voting. The Oriya Congressites left Nagpur to reach Chakradharpur on 29th December 1920 where the final Congress dye was to be cast on the Utkal Sammilani which, while maintaining its existing objective adopted the aims

and objectives of the Indian National Congress as its own.¹⁵ Thereafter Gopabandhu leaped forward and educated the Oriya people for the Non-co-operation which included Swadeshi as a principal objective.

One may observe a many editorials and news-items in the *Samaja* informing us about the spread of Swadeshi in Orissa in 1921-22.

Gopabandhu observed in February 1921, "Mahalakshmi has left India. Unless the Grihalakshmis, the housewives, endeavour to pray to bring her back, the miseries of our country shall not be alleviated." Referring to the Thursday festivities in the month of Margasira everywhere in Orissa, Gopabandhu said that earnest efforts must be made so that Mahalakshmi would come back to every house. He said that not only the women should spin but pursue the men to do the same.¹⁶

Gopabandhu was "astonished" to find the taste of the Indians changing in favour of Swadeshi, the coarse cloth. The success of the swadeshi lay in the long story of suffering of the Indians, he observed. "People were rearly groping for a way out. Mahatma Gandhi has shown the right path..... swaraj through the spinning-wheel may appear to many as impossible. They may laugh at the idea. But in the present circumstances the spinnig-wheel alone is the weapon for self-defence. It will bring independence to Indians without bloodshed". The price rise and scarcity of clothes during the First World War were discussed by Gopabandhu to conclude "now the people have realised that they were really *paradhina* (dependent-on others). People should make efforts not to depend for food and clothing. The *Dhinki* and *Araia* were like the two foot-rests for the two feet of Mahalakshmi. Since the spinning-wheel has vanished from the homes, Mahalakshmi has fallen down face downwards. The *shree*, glaze of the country has withered. Mahalakshmi is to be welcomed back by reinstalling the spinning-wheel in our homes."¹⁷

Cotton seeds were being sold at the Satyabadi school and some boys were selling the seeds by moving from village to village.¹⁸ Justifying the conversion of the Satyabadi school to a national school, the *Samaja* informed that the students could render better service by propagating the message of Swaraj by spreading the spinning-wheel in the villages than by becoming bookworms in the schools.¹⁹

Cotton seeds were being sold (a) two annas and six pies per seer and were available with Ramachandra Rath at the Satyabadi school.²⁰

Spinning was included as compulsory subject and as an optional subject at the school stage; as a compulsory subject for the three-year course at the college level, as the syllabus prepared by the Utkal Swaraja Shiksha Parishada reveals.²¹

Mahatma Gandhi visited Cuttack on 23rd March 1921, on the Dola Purnima day, and delivered his speech on the Kathajori sands. Appealing to the people of Orissa to enroll 3 lakhs of members spread one lakh charakhas by 30th of June, he declared: "Swaraj was our goal and birthright, to attain which we were to destroy the political satan."²² Reflecting on his Orissa tour he wrote in the *Young India*. "I was prepared to see skeletons in Orissa but not to the extent I did.....They cried, and they said in pathetic tones, 'we want food'. Some said, 'when will the prices be reduced?' I understood that the meaning of Swaraj to many was cheap food and clothing.....Referring to his visit to the *Anathalaya* at Puri, he continued: "I saw there well-looking boys and girls, some spinning and some matmaking. Why could not all the fleshless ones do likewise? They need not then live on begging, the house-leavings or a handful of rice. They would earn their own living if only they could spin. But who would give them the wheels? Straight came the answer— "The Congress of course." The Congress would teach them to gain Swaraj through spinning. There is no other occupation that millions can take up,

not even mat-making. For millions of mats will not sell. Yarn is the only commodity next to eatables that could have a ready market. I met the Congress leaders. I recited the story to them. Some of them, were witness with me of the scene I have described. They agreed that the Congress funds must be utilised chiefly for the spread of the spinning-wheel. And the money they could easily get from the Mahants and the pilgrims. The Congress Committee even in poor Orissa could thus be self-supporting and could bring Swaraj nearer by filling the hungry mouths.”²³

“Workers can certainly persuade Congress families to take up on wheel per family. Twenty-five lacs of spinning-wheels in twenty-one provinces, is not an ambitious scheme,” wrote the Mahatma in March 1921.²⁴

With a sense of humour Mahatma Gandhi wrote in April 1921, in the *Young India*: “I would love to feel that I was an M. A. of the University of Non-co-operation.” While answering to a series of questions raised in an examination paper from Sindh he reached the last one, question No. 9, which he considered to be “the most important from the practical stand point”. The question put to Gandhi was “will the spinning-wheel solve the problem of India’s poverty? If it will, how?” Gandhi was very frank in his answer, “I am more than even convinced that, without the spinning-wheel, the problem of India’s poverty cannot be solved. Millions of Indian peasants starve for want of supplementary occupation. If they have spinning to add to their slender resources, they can fight successfully against pauperism and famine. Mills cannot solve the problem. Only hand-spinning and nothing else can. . . . I am writing this in Puri in front of the murmuring waves. The picture of the crowd of men, women and children with their fleshless ribs under the very shadow of Jagannath, haunts me. If I had the power I would suspend every other activity in schools, and colleges, and everywhere else, and popularise spinning; prepare out of these lads and lasses spinning teachers; inspire every carpenter to prepare spinning-wheels; and ask the teachers to take these life giving machines to every home, and teach them spinning. If I had the power, I would stop an ounce of cotton from being exported turned into yarn in these homes. I would dot India with depots for receiving this yarn and distribute it among weavers. Given sufficient, steady and trained workers, I would undertake to drive pauperism out of India this year. . . . I invite the sceptics to visit Orissa, penetrate its villages, and find out for themselves where India stands. They will then believe with me that to possess, or to wear, an ounce of foreign cloth is a crime against India and humanity.”²⁵ Gandhi, therefore, appealed to the intelligent lover of his country to make spinning universal and profitable.

After the Mahatma’s visit, Madhu Babu (Mr. M. S. Das) then as a Minister of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, was touring in Puri, dissuading the people from becoming Non-co-operators. Making sarcastic comments on “spying by Madhu Babu” a news-item in the *Samaja* said that it was Madhubabu who taught the Oriyas first to non-co-operate, he was the one who took to hand-spun cloth first and started the Utkal Sammilani.²⁶

The editorial of the *Samaja*, dated 28th May 1921 appreciated the decision of the Government to supply charakhas to the schools. It said that lack of cotton and charakhas were the main impediments for the spread of spinning in Orissa. “Yet if the people shall show the interest in manufacturing the spinning-wheel as they do in case of the *langala* (the plough), there would be no short-supply”. The editorial said: as both food and clothing were essential, like the *Dhinki* (the instruments of wood that is traditionally used for removing the husk from the grain of paddy) an *arata* (the spinning-wheel) must be there in every house. It referred to the age-old practice of spinning in Ganjam and Sambalpur and the use of the old spinning-wheels in the feudatory states of Orissa. The Rajas and the Superintendent rather should make it compulsory for all to spin. No doubt by doing so their financial condition shall improve. It regretted that some of the Non-co-operators have received barbarous and condemnable treatment from the Dewans of some Gadajats and the Superintendent. It wished that the Oriyas in the Gadajats shall spin large number and shall at least in this respect co-operate with other Oriyas (of the

Orissa Division) to save the respect of the Oriyas before the whole of India (Utkala Jatira Mana Bharata nikatare rakhyakaribē). The editorial emphasised that the carpenters in the town and the mofussils of Utkala Pradesh, should manufacture the spinning wheels. During the war (First World War) all the industries of Europe manufactured nothing but weapons. "The *Dharmayuddha* that is now on for achieving swaraya for ourselves, the only weapon that is used in it is the spinning-wheel, the Sudarshana Chakra. All the carpenters should stop all other work and be engaged in manufacturing the spinning-wheels." If every one shall attach importance to this task it would not be difficult to produce one lakh spinning-wheels in one month, paucity of cotton is not that great problem. This editorial said to inspire the readers: "New cotton will be harvested within coming fifteen to twenty days, cotton is being sold at Cuttack, if only the spinning-wheels can be manufactured, there will be no problem in getting cotton; the District Congress Committee and the Utkal P.C.C. are endeavouring in this regard. The people should show earnestness."

The tone of this editorial was no less Gandhite than the writings of Gandhi in the columns of the Young India. What may be noted is Gopabandhu, the passionate Jagannath Bhakta could see the image of the Sudarshan Chakra and the spinning-wheel fused into one. For him, Nasayana was the leader of Utkal in all her crisis. Obviously such images were used, spontaneously to create the fervour of the masses for the swadeshi and the Non-co-operation Movement.²⁷

In July 1921, the spinning-wheels were sold @ Rs. 3 and Rs. 6 each. The carpenters were requested through a news-item (Charkha Bikri), to purchase one or two pieces and use as models while manufacturing in their houses.²⁸ By 30th June 1921, there were 15,000 spinning-wheels in Orissa as is known from a news-item stating that the Secretary, Utkal P. C. C. had sent a telegraph message to the Secretary, Indian National Congress, accordingly.²⁹ In the month of July 1921 Gopabandhu toured extensively in Puri and propagated the idea of the spinning-wheels. The satyabadi school received 100 spinning wheels donated by Jamunalal Bajaj. Gopabandhu proposed for opening a cotton-godown at Nuahat.

A unique advertisement was published in the *samaja* on 6 August 1921. "*Sabadhan, Utkalabasi Sabadhan*" Make haste in plying the spinning-wheel in every home.... The brahmins should use for the sacred threads and the vaisnavites for their garlands or beads, the hand-spin threads. The threads spun by the Grihalaxmis shall not be the mere thread with which the clothes shall be woven, that shall be the thread of the fate of Utkal.

A bonfire of foreign clothes was made at Puri and Gopabandhu lighted the fire, people took to mere towels and parted with their clothes for the bonfire. Umbrellas were also thrown into it.³²

In August 1921 the Utkal P. C. C. resolved for spinning³³ After hardly fifteen days of practice, one could earn 3 annas by spinning for four hours.³⁴ The *Samaja* pleaded for godowns of country made clothes by late August 1921. The Congress workers are propagating for swadeshi, preaching the people to spin through the spinning-wheel and wear countrymade clothes. But it would yield the desired result of spreading the movement unless godowns are opened at places by the Congress to keep in stock the countrymade clothes".³⁵

The editorial of the *Samaja*, dated 3 September, 1921 criticised a circular of the Government of Bihar and Orissa extending incentives by the Government for trading in foreign cloth. "Spinning and weaving in this country have been destroyed by the British administration. Forcibly this industry of the country has been destroyed by law keeping in view the British business interest." As a result, Indians are today begging before others, observed Gopabandhu. This was a great loss of prestige for the Indians. "Boycott of the foreign cloth was the main way for self-defence The Indians have realised that Swadeshi is a matter of their life and death."³⁶

The details of the boycott of foreign cloth and the meeting at Haliday Park in Calcutta on 4th September 1921, demonstrating the united resistance by the Oriya labour force was reported in the Samaja (37). Thereafter section 144 was imposed on Gopabandhu at Cuttak. The District Magistrate of Cuttak (B. N Roy) issued orders prohibiting Gopabandhu from organising any public meeting. Allegations were made that on 14th August 1921 a bonfire of foreign clothes was made at Cuttack and that in that meeting at Cuttack attended by Gopabandhu, the effigy of an English Saheb (made of foreign clothes) was burnt.³⁸

In a newsitem under the heading "Unnecessary threats" the Samaja reported that chaukidars were collecting statistics of the spinning-wheel in the villages and that they were alarming the owner saying that there shall be a tax on the wheels. The Samaj advised that there should be no cause for fear. The Government have become apprehensive about the impact of the spinning-wheel on the foreign cloth.³⁹

Gopabandhu argued from his own experience of the rise of Khaddar that "Though khaddar does not dazzle like the foreign clothes, it is softer. It keeps one cool in summer, does not drench easily in the rains and keeps warm in winter." The foreign cloth was compared to that of a dazzling prostitute, a friend in prosperity where friendship is only but transitory. But the Khaddar is like the Kulangana Gruhini, the auspicious housewife, friend of joy and sorrow throughout life.... "Spread it and lie down; use it, cover it over and sleep, wear as cloth or use as towel—it is useful everywhere. Besides, serving all these purposes, the Khaddar alone can remove poverty."⁴⁰

Gopabandhu made an impressive calculation in March 1922. Assuming that about one and a half crore people lived in the divided Utkala and that on the average a family may be comprised of five members, of there may be at least one charkha per family, there may be thus 30 lakhs charkhas among the Oriyas. Most of the women may spin from 12 to 4 p.m. Men may also be engaged in this job during some periods of the year. Anyone with one or two months experience may be able to spin $2\frac{1}{2}$ tolas of thread which comes to $\frac{1}{8}$ th seer (of Baleswari standard) per four hours of spinning. The cost of wage for spinning $\frac{1}{8}$ seer of yarn is at least one anna. If there is a profit of one anna per charkha the total profit by 30 lakhs of charkhas was computed to be Rs. 1,87,500 per day. Per month profit was calculated as Rs. 56,25,000 or Rs. 6 crores, and one lakh per year which can be earned "by utilising the time that is otherwise wasted." This is only about spinning. If the weavers are engaged, they shall be producing another Rs. 6 crores. If Rs. 4 is spent on clothes by an Oriya, about Rs. 6 crores is being spent by all the Oriyas. By spinning and weaving, at least this money would be saved by the Oriyas. During the worst famine in Puri (1920) only Rs. 6 lakhs were given as relief by the Government and the people. From the above calculation, the Samaj concluded that there would be great profit if the Charkha is adopted. "Is it not that the spinning-wheel alone shall be able to drive the famine away from Utkal?" asked Gopabandhu.⁴¹

Gopabandhu wrote in early March 1922 about his experience on the Swadeshi experiment in village Panchapada in Sambalpur. There he saw that out of 560 families (with a population of about 2,000) 160 spinning-wheels were in operation. Even with that the village produced $\frac{1}{8}$ th seer (Baleswari standard) of yarn per spinning-wheel. A piece of cloth required about $\frac{3}{4}$ th seer or one seer of yarn. The villagers informed him that thus about 160 pieces of clothes were being woven in Panchpada every week, amounting to 640 pieces or at least 600 pieces per month or 7,200 pieces a year. On an average every villager could get $3\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of cloth each. Taking into account the children, the young and the old men and women, the village was found self-sufficient regarding clothing. If the villagers would not have been engaging themselves in spinning and weaving they would be spending @ Rs. 25 per family, a sum of Rs. 14,000 per year which would then be draining away from the village.

The villagers apprised Gopabandhu that about 1,000 spinning-wheels can easily play there, if all the men and women would be engaged in spinning and weaving. Thus the village may produce 1,000 piece of cloth according to the aforesaid calculation and if the villagers may use 6 pieces per persons, amounting to 12,000 pieces, 36,000 pieces can be sent out of the village for sale. Leaving aside the cost of cotton atleast wage of Re. 1 can be earned towards every piece of cloth amounting to a total sum of Rs. 36,000 per year or Rs. 1,000 per day can be earned by the village. This is besides the sum of Rs. 14,000 which they would have spent on purchasing their clothes. Thus it comes to about Rs. 1/2 lakhs of profit for the village Panchapada spinning and weaving. "Who got this profit" asked Gopabandhu and answered himself. "All classes of villagers get it shared amongst themselves. Let the knowledgeable people in the villages compute for their own villages how much their village may gain every year by opting swadeshi and how shall our Odisha desha shall gain in the process." ⁴²

In early 1922, the price of foreign cloth and mill made clothes started falling down. Gopabandhu said this was being deliberately done to check the shift of choice of the masses towards khaddar. He said that foreign traders would not easily leave the Indian market they may even go to the extent of pushing a sale of their clothes by allowing the pieces to be carried in bundles on the shoulders of the vendors, sale it cheap (a piece costing Rs. 3 for 3 suka or 12 annas only), sometimes they may give it on lending, or sometimes even free or by many other ways "to win over the choice of the masses". Only when the Indians shall sing ଚାଲିଯିବୁଁ ଗୁଳିମୁକ୍ତି ଲାଭେ we shall never again enter that well; looking at the foreign clothes if they shall sing କେତକି ଗୋଟିଏ ପ୍ରାଣିକ ଦୂରୁ କୁହାଉ "we shall prefer to keep aloof from the clothes of the white Europeans) then it shall be known that we have released ourselves from a Mahojala (bondage). But unfortunately people have once again been allured, commented Gopabandhu, towards the cheaper foreign clothes. ⁽⁴³⁾

Towards the end of May 1922, Gopabandhu summarised the obstacles on the spread of spinning. These were, besides shortage of cotton, as follows:

- (1) The appreciation of the masses for the finer and polished foreign and mill made clothes
- (2) The price of foreign and mill made pieces being less than khaddar.
- (3) The people have not yet adopted spinning as a family job.
- (4) The hesitation and unwillingness of the weavers to ply the spinning-wheel. ⁴⁴

"The year (1920-21) saw the rise of the old swadeshi movement and the cult of handspun and hard-woven 'khadi' was at its height, the demand being so great as to raise the rates from 13 as. and 14 as. to Rs. 1/2 per lb. It was also reflected in greater imports of twist and yarn, spun from longer stapled Egyptian and American cotton, being more suitable for hand-weaving than Indian cotton." ⁴⁵

In 1921-22, the general rate of import duty was increased from 7½% to 11% also on cotton goods, while the excise duty remained at 3½%. It may be noted here that there was a deficit of 34 crores in the British budget in 1921-22. The London Times commented: "The Indian cotton excise duty has always been politically, economically, and above all morally indefensible" The plea that the poor Hindhu will have to pay more for his clothing is merely nonsensical. ⁴⁶

It is however interesting to note in the Fort St. George Gazette supplement to part III dated Madras, 26 April 1921 that the articles which were enlisted as "free of duty" included "raw cotton" while in part IV of the aforesaid Gazette where articles which were liable to duty at 11 per cent advalorem included "yarns and textile fabrics, that is to say cotton piece goods, thread other than sewing or darning thread and all other manufactured cotton goods not otherwise specified."

The report of the Governments of Bihar and Orissa for 1921 does not include cotton in the list of "the most important crops" of the province. Attempting to explain the factors governing the minds of the people for selection of the crops, the report said. "The province has no considerable port and the comparatively heavy charges for railway freight fall more lightly on the less bulky, and more valuable commodities. The result is that the less valuable products are grown chiefly for local consumption. Cereals are in fact for the most part locally consumed, while the principal agricultural exports are the more valuable oil seeds and pulses and sugar. These pay for cotton cloth and yarn which can be imported cheaply. This fact and the fact that the climate is too wet for the extensive cultivation of any known variety of cotton under the system at present in vogue, accounts for the comparatively small area of cotton cultivation, which has declined still further with the improvement of railway communications. Experiments are now being made with a view to the discovery of improved types of cotton." ⁴⁹

What were the Governments of Bihar and Orissa doing then ? It was stated in the report for 1921 that the handloom industry was most active in areas including Cuttack and Sambalpur. "Government have not been blind to the importance of this (handloom) industry.....with the assistance of a textile expert, over 1,000 fly shuttle looms have been introduced in the Madhubani subdivision, some dobbies in Orissa and about fifty sleys each in Cuttack and Sambalpur respectively. The fly-shuttle sley increases the outturn of each weaver by 50 to 100 percent and the comparatively slow progress made in its popularization has been chiefly due to mistakes made before a textile expert was appointed, and the lack of proper organisation. With the organisation which is now at the command of the new department and the popular movement in favour of handwoven cloth, great progress may, therefore, be made in supplying the demand for cloth in this province." ⁵⁰ The graph prepared by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to show net imports into the province reveals that the import of foreign piece-goods were generally, fast declining from 1913-14 to 1920-21 from 66,000 lbs. to 15,000 lbs. While there was generally a steady increase in the import of Indian piece goods from 4,000 lbs. in 1913-14 to 26,000 lbs. in 1919-20 it fell down to 22,000 lbs. in 1920-21. Here one should notice the steady rise in the import of twist and yarn from 19,000 lbs. in 1918-19 to 22,000 lbs. in 1920-21. Interestingly, we are not told if this twist and yarn were Indian or foreign. ⁵¹ This should be analysed alongwith the rise in the import tariff in 1921 as referred to earlier.

The report of the Governments of Bihar and Orissa for the year 1922 says the excessive rain fall was also detrimental to cotton, which was grown on 7,83,000 acres in the year with an estimated outturn of 14,954 bales. ⁵² The report informs "the introduction of the fly-shuttle sley has met with most encouraging success. This fly-shuttle sley is a most important mechanical improvement in hand-weaving and means a potential doubling of output to the weaves who uses it." Demonstrations were made and during the year 1921-22, as much as 1,650 looms were successfully introduced and it was estimated that "by this introduction the value of the output of handmade goods has increased by about seven lakhs of rupees a year. One of the difficulties in introducing the fly-shuttle sley has always been the initial cost. but as a result of the experiments made at the Balasore carpentry school it has been found possible to reduce the cost of the sley and shuttle from fourteen or sixteen rupees, which was the previous practice, to eight rupees.....The successful progress in introducing this loom and undoubted financial benefits which result from its introduction point to the necessity of appointing demonstration parties to introduce it into other districts where the census has shown that large number of weavers exist." ⁵³

By 1923, "the area under cotton showed a slight increase, being 79,564 acres against 78,288 acres sown last year. The cause may be attributed to the favourable weather conditions at the time of sowing, and also to swadeshi movement in Muraffarpur." ⁵⁴ The sowing of cotton begins over the greater part of the province in June and the crop is picked from October

onwards. A small area also is sown at the end of the monsoon in North Bihar and Orissa, and is picked in the hot weather. The combined crops are expected to give an outturn of 16,199 bales, or an increase of over two thousand bales over last year's produce.

The Governments of Bihar and Orissa were keen to exploit this tilt of the farmers for cultivation of cotton and made efforts to strengthen the handloom weaving, by introducing the fly shuttle looms. The report of the Government of the province for 1923 said: "The otherside of the work of the department, industrial development, has not been neglected and in particular the introduction of fly-shuttle looms has met with continued success." More number of demonstrative parties were engaged by the department at various places including Balasore. "These peripatic weaving parties each consist of five mistries under a demonstrator, whose business it is to tour in selected areas and to introduce and demonstrate to the weavers the advantages of improved methods of work and of improved appliances." This report informs us that the fly-shuttle was being readily adopted noticeably in Darbhanga district and was "creditable, considering the present depression in the textile trade."⁵⁵ One reason for the depression is that the weavers present market cannot absorb his output of local types of cloth. It is, therefore, essential to teach him to make others which will suit the taste of those who at present buy the mill-made product. As the present demand is for the finer, and consequently cheaper *dhotis*, with designs on borders, an attempt is being made to teach weavers to use finer counts of yarn and to adopt 'dobbies', which enable border designs to be woven... Tests were also made at the (Cotton experimental and testing) station (at Ranchi) of different varieties of strach, and experiments conducted with lattice dobbies for producing borders."⁵⁶

This may clearly show how the Government of the province were making consistent-efforts to motivate the weavers to sewing to the fly-shuttle sley by arguing in favour of finer and cheaper *dhotis* which could be produced faster while making these more attractive with border designs, with a view to capture the market which was being built up by the Congress through the propaganda for the *swadeshi*. (i. e. hand-spun and hand-woven clothes).

The AICC appointed the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee which submitted its report in 1922. This report contains the note of dissent by C. Rajagopalchariar who said "We are fighting a terrible and organised system of force with a new weapon conceived by Mahatmaji". He pointed out that the significance of the weapon lay in its spiritual appeal more than anything else." He raised objections to the recommendations of the Enquiry Committee for boycott of British yarn and British goods. "We may cause great loss to restaurant proprietors by cooking our own food in our own houses but there would be no punishment or hatred in it, but to resolve to resort to all restaurants except one is quite a different thing and the feeling of hatred in that case should be obvious."⁵⁷

He concluded by saying : "close and careful consideration of events will make it clear how Mahatmaji disarmed all open opposition to the *khaddar* campaign by the elimination of boycott of British goods and by strict adherence to pure *swadeshi* and at the same time succeeded in bringing about the most effective economic boycott. The disarming of opposition and the security of moral advantage in the midst of severest conflict is the peculiar strength and beauty of Mahatmaji's plans and are a result of the strict adherence to the principle of avoidance of hatred...the thing needed now, the completing of the cloth boycott."⁵⁸

How much progress could be made in Orissa ?

The Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee shows from itinerary as contained in Appendix II that the members arrived from Waltair at 1.10 a. m. on the 4th August 1922 at Cuttack, had a sitting and left Cuttack by 21.36 hours same day for Calcutta.⁵⁹

Provincial statements regarding *Khaddar* shows that the No. of *Charkhas* by the Congress in Utkal was 3,950 which was less than the corresponding figure for the city of Bombay (5,000) and much less than Andhra (1,80,388—the highest figure for any province in India) while the figure was encouraging

in comparison to that of Sindh (2,162) and Kerala (500). The estimate was made for private Charkhas and cottage Charkhas as well. The total number of Charkhas in Utkal was shown as 36,000 while the corresponding figures for Bihar (2,00,000) Ajmer (about 18,26,000—the highest figure for any province) and U. P. (3,85,736), Bengal (about 3 lakhs). In some provinces supervision of the Charkha was shown as was being done by appointing committees. "For Utkal, the column remains blank. Yarn produced monthly in Utkal 490 mds. (8 to 14 counts—) a small quantity in Ganjam of 60 to 80 counts). There are 25 Congress centres which organised sell of yarn in Utkal where spinner also sell in fairs and markets." For Utkal other facts were as follows : Export and import of yarn was practically 'none. There were approximately 50,000 looms. There were 9 weaving organisations under the Congress and 10 others. Monthly out put of Khaddar was shown as "roughly 61,120 yds". Khaddar was of 'pure' quality. Export of Khaddar was very little. Popularity and percentage of weavers was calculated as 5% and including native states 25% Khaddar was 'dearer' (like all other provinces) as compared to mill cloth, Indian and foreign. Progress as compared to mill cloth Indian and foreign was described as "unfavourably". Use of Khaddar in 1922 as compared to last year was rated as "favourably". There were 7 Congress institutions, 3 private for weaving and 15 Congress institutions for spinning. Under the heading "Opinions and suggestions" it was said that Khaddar is the most important items. Suggestions (a) more efficient organisation for improving quality of yarn and controlling weavers and (b) greater concentration of the Congress organisation on the Khaddar items ⁶⁰.

It may be noted the facts were honestly stated and the progress and Khaddar (Utkal chapter) was rated as unfavourably, in the Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. The suggestions which were frankly made by Tamilnadu for the encouragement of cotton growing and stocking of large quantities of cotton by congress appears to be equally good for Utkal.

The apology for past and hopes for the future:

In May 1925, Gopabandhu's tone was apologetic. "It may be said that Khaddar work has not started at all in Utkal. The spinning-wheels which were plying in the first year (1921-22), are lying idle. No satisfactory progress could be made by the Khaddar centres which were operating with all-India Khaddar Centre's assistance. Rather much money has been wasted. ⁶¹

By June 1925, Gopabandhu was worried to find his fellowmen in need of straws for thatching their houses and feeding their cattle, water for daily use, apprehensions about the usual torture and fines during the forthcoming settlement, malaria and starvation etc. which may engulf the Oriya people. An unusual statement under the heading "what did I see" signed by Gopabandhu was published in the Samaja on 13 June 1925. It contains Gopabandhu's reflections on the spread of the spinning-wheel during the days of Non-co-operation movement. He observed that the people still had faith in the Congress. "The people are interested in spinning but due to the lack of instruments and the resources no progress is being made. While at places, some people were spinning before the days of non-co-operation and are spinning even now, some have abandoned it. The first impediment for spinning is lack of cotton and second want of habit." Those who are cultivating cotton, they are either spinning themselves or through others and getting their clothes woven thereby. People donot find it profitable to spin and weave with cotton purchased. People have left the habit of spinning. Those who took recourse to the spinning-wheel being swayed away by the waves during the days of non-co-operation have abandoned it after the waves receded. They did not relish the charm of the spinning-wheel. Even now they consider spinning to be a difficult job. But in reality, the spinning-wheel is a very simple instrument. It is easy and enjoyable to spin with it. But the spinner gets irritated when all the threads are not spun well. People will find it easy to follow if an experienced person demonstrates. As I find, even now it is not too late. Spreading the Khaddar in the villages would not be difficult if dedicated workers shall proceed to the villages with commitment."

Observing the mood of the masses at different places in Orissa, "I felt," said Gopabandhu, "the Non-co-operation movement spread like the flooded river. Being submerged, the low lands and the high grounds alike—all appeared to have been levelled. But now, after the floods receded, the high grounds have come up. There is some water hither and thither in the low lands only. What I mean to say is those whose hearts were really deep and were prepared to receive the new idea (Naba Bhaba), they are still sticking to the New Idea. They are anxious to do something for the country. Steps must be taken not to allow the water stagnated in these low lands to be polluted."

"Many are interested to grow cotton. But there is dearth of seeds. People have forgotten the ways to grow cotton. People have been disappointed as they did not get a good crop of cotton they cultivated in 1921-22, due to less rainfall. They are not showing that much of interest now. But they would adopt spinning and cultivation of cotton as well, if some one would supply all the instruments necessary and teach them the whole process." ⁶²

The speech delivered by the Mahatma in reply to an address of welcome presented by the Municipal Council of Cocanada on 2 April 1921, contained his observations as follows: "India was a free land—India was a land flowing with milk and honey when every home in India sang freedom with the spinning-wheel.....spinning-wheel was a sign of plenty. It is an emblem of purity, simplicity, freedom, it is an emblem of purity to the whole world. As Mr. Das rightly said yesterday the spinning-wheel proved to us and to the whole world that we did not want to engage in the killing competition of the west. The spinning-wheel, its revival, constitutes notice to England, France, America, Japan, and every other country that India can not be subdued for their exploitation. It sends across the seas a message to the other nations of the world that India is determined to be absolutely self-contained and independent for food and clothing. It takes a message of goodwill to the 3 crores of our countrymen who are living from day to day on only one meal per day and that containing a piece a dried bread and a pinch of salt. It is the one cement that binds the whole of India and makes it into one nation. Take away, destroy this cement—the only cohesive force that can possibly support and the building of swaraj falls to pieces. He" advised that boys and girls, men and women should turn the spinning wheel for some hours during the day and called it a very simple test. "And I assure you that if the whole of India satisfies this very simple test I call it 'a very simple test—by the end of June, you will find a new life pulsating through the whole of India by the 1st of July.'" ⁶³

The lion could not lie with the lamb..

To a question asked by the "Times" representative in December 1920, where will the present Government be at the end of the nine months? Mr. Gandhi, with a significant smile said: "The lion will then lie with the lamb." ⁶⁴ As the development of the events show to us the lion could not be made to lie with the lamb during the target period. Yet, "under the blue and serene Indian sky, a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb" did "appear on the horizon" and assumed "dimensions unexpected by any", ⁶⁵ drizzled in 1930 and "burst" from 1942 onwards till the final down pour in 1947. This muse of the downpour, the bursting of the clouds was set into motion by plying the spinning wheels, by welding that weapon of commercial peace, not commercial war for it could produce the 'yarn' 'the cohesive force' 'the cement' that needed to be produced, by the revival of a nationwide confidence, by giving a clarion call for the swadeshi.

The tidal waves of the Non-co-operation movement receded like the tidal waves of the sea, said Gopabandhu. The suspension of the Non-co-operation movement in February 1921, the arrest of the Mahatma in March 1922 "shook the faith of the masses in the movement" ⁶⁶ said the report of the Government of Bihar and Orissa. After this Gopabandhu was arrested in May 1922 and there was a natural recession of the movement in Orissa in tune with its all-India character. It may be

noted by the students of the rise and lull, the onward swing and growth of the patriotic fervour among the Indian people in the first half of the twentieth century that the Sudarshana Chakra could not achieve its material purpose in term of the number of the spinning-wheels in operation and the bundles of yarn in Orissa during 1921-22, due to the non-existence of a viable Congress structure in Orissa, lack of cotton seeds and cotton, lack of adequate number of spinning-wheel, skilled persons who could demonstrate the know how, the attitude of the old guards of the Utkala Sammilani, the tariff and political policy of the Government of India and even the agricultural and textile policy of the province of Bihar and Orissa, and no less due to the removal of Gopabandhu by his arrest in May 1992—the factors which were responsible for dampening the spirit of the people who were enthused during the movement.

But a finer purpose was served by the use of this 'weapon' in Orissa. By joining the national stream, in however meagre a volume, the Oriya people, 'the poorest in the world' as Gopabandhu said, could draw the sympathy of the Mahatma and the approval of the Congress for a linguistic province.

The muse of the Sudarshana Chakra in Orissa was rhythmically played with the Naba Bhaba in harmony with the rest of India. It appears the muse was only stalled with the Sudarshana Chakra undergoing a hibernation in the Mahodadhi.

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